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PROTECTION AND THE PROLETARIAT.

BY THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

THE social and political organism of the American Republic is made up of two distinct classes of humanity. One class represents Industry, Temperance, Frugality, and Self-denial; and is, therefore, self-reliant, and, consequently, self-respecting. The person who cannot have confidence in himself, against all competitors, in the struggle for existence, cannot respect himself nor command the respect of others. The power to repress one's desires and appetites and to deny their excessive gratification, is the foundation of self-reliance and self-respect, which are the basis of good citizenship. The government of self, vested in each citizen, is the integral condition precedent of self-government for the masses—for the concrete, the composite government of the Republic. When individuals and classes of individuals evolve the idea of manipulating the machinery of government, so as to prescribe privileges for themselves and taxation and burdens for the masses, the first symptoms of Communism become apparent.

The business of the Federal Government, as defined by the Constitution, did not comprehend a tariff purely for protection. The Federation of the States, prior to the adoption of the Constitution, permitted restriction and taxation upon trade between the members of that Federation. But the Constitutional Convention which met in Philadelphia in June, 1787, after great deliberation and earnest discussion decided and declared that

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there should never be any restriction upon trade between the States of the American Union, either in the form of a tariff for revenue or for protection, but that interstate commerce should be absolutely free. And now the United States are, in their general thrift and wealth, a verification of the prosperousness and righteousness of unrestricted commerce.

On December 24, 1825, Thomas Jefferson addressed a letter to James Madison, inclosing a paper which he called "A solemn Declaration and Protest of the Commonwealth of Virginia, on the principles of the Constitution of America, and on the violation of them." And in the eighth section of this Protest we find the following language:

"This Assembly does further disavow, and declare to be most false and unfounded, the doctrine that the compact in authorizing its federal branch to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, has given them thereby a power to do whatever *they* may think and pretend would promote the general welfare, which construction would make that, of itself, a complete government, without limitation of powers; but that the plain sense and obvious meaning was that they might levy the taxes necessary to provide for the general welfare by the various acts of power therein specified and delegated to them, and by no others."

Subsequent to that time, however, the doctrine of Protection found many advocates, who saw that, under the pretense of "promoting the general welfare," they might so use the taxing power as to shut out foreign competitors, in certain lines of manufacture, from the markets of the United States, and thereby secure their monopoly to themselves. Under adroit interpretation and with felicitous fallacies, the "public welfare" clause was made to appear as providing for the building up of the sickly and precarious industries, by levying taxes upon all those other industries which were neither sickly nor of doubtful strength and success; and thus the so-called "American System" found its first footing in public confidence and esteem. But, instead of relinquishing, as the years have swept over the Republic, any of the privileges which protection guaranteed, in the first place, to its wards, the protectees, they have multiplied those privileges from year to year, under various pretexts, until now, after a quarter of a century of the Morrill Tariff, the American people have been commercially salivated and atrophied by the McKinley tariff and its more malignant discriminations in behalf of privileged classes. During all these decades of protection, there has

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been evolved a great multitude of millionaires. They have been planted in, and fertilized by, a misuse of the power of governments to tax either subjects or citizens. Instead of that sovereign force being used for the legitimate purpose of raising revenues with which to maintain and defend civil government, formed so that *all* might, could, and would protect the natural rights of *each*, it has been perverted to taxing the many for the benefit and enrichment of the few. Thus the masses of the American people have witnessed the creation of wealth, by statute, out of the earnings of themselves, through the impost of unjust taxes in behalf of the manufacturing classes.

Gradually the idea has pervaded the public mind that wealth may be created by the mere "be it enacted" of the lawmaking power, until now it is plain that the first strike in the United States was that of capital for higher profits. Capital demanded and received from Congress the enactment of laws which secured to it, by shutting out foreign competition, higher profits than could possibly be earned in a condition of perfect commercial freedom. And the law-making power conceded all that capital asked. The Morrill Tariff and the McKinley Tariff were the concessions made by Congress to those who asked for laws which should compel larger dividends upon all the dollars which they had invested in certain lines of business. And, logically, labor petitioned the same lawmaking power to "enact" higher wages, prosperity, and leisure for laborers. First came, in response to labor's importunity, the statute declaring eight hours a legal day's work, when no legislature ever existed wise enough to say how many hours should make a day's work for any human being. Other restrictive laws have followed—among them the law regulating the rates upon railroads, the Oleomargarine law, the Interstate Commerce Act, and, in the various States, many similar statutes patterned after and spawned of the protective system.

And now, after all this experimentation under the Protective Tariff, we find vast numbers of idle men seeking legislation in their own behalf, and among these workless thousands is, beyond question, largely represented that other class of citizenship which embodies the Indolent, the Intemperate, and the Improvident. These citizens seem sadly lacking in self-reliance, and, therefore, in self-respect; but not at all lacking in imitative power. And, therefore, boldly, they approach Washington, for the avowed pur-

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pose of demanding and securing legislation partial to themselves and in their own interests, regardless of all other interests. They ask that the Government of the United States shall legislate directly to promote their welfare, and, like the protectionists, they proclaim *that* the "public welfare," as intended by the Constitution. They propose that the money which self-denial, industry, and economy have gathered together and loaned to the Government for its protection in its hour of peril, shall cease to draw interest. They declare that the first class named in this paper shall be paid nothing for the use of the accumulated capital which their industry and frugality have acquired. They demand still further that the Government of the United States shall issue $500,000,000 of greenbacks, and loan the same, without interest, to such municipalities as may desire to make internal improvements, upon condition that those municipalities shall bond themselves to an extent not exceeding one-half their assessed valuation, and deposit the bonds with the Secretary of the Treasury, who, deducting one per cent. for the cost of printing and engraving, shall at once issue legal tender money for that amount. This proposed circulating medium is to be non-convertible into coin. The theory of these vagrant economists is, that the Government can create value in mere promises for which they provide no fulfilment—no redemption. This kind of inconvertible money has been tried time and again by governments older than ours, and always with disaster. No one, with good reasoning faculties, can even attempt to defend an inconvertible currency. Neither an individual nor a government can do financial wrong, without having to atone for it by financial suffering. The first proposition of these petitions in boots, is to violate a solemn obligation on the part of the Government of the United States, which issued bonds, upon which it promised, by its sacred honor, to pay interest. This pledge, given in a time of dire national calamity and distress, furnished the sinews of war which preserved the Government and the Union. And yet this misnamed Army of the Commonweal of Christ proposes primarily to violate the nation's faith and to cease paying the interest which it agreed to pay. A citizenship which makes its first attempt at formulating laws for the land by a proposed violation of the public faith, which would condemn us as a Nation of Liars and Cheats, can do nothing to promote morality and the "general welfare."

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These nomads have very crude ideas as to money and its functions. They do not seem to know that money has never been successfully made by any government, out of any material which did not have value as a commodity before it became money. They confound the *promise* printed upon a greenback, to pay a dollar, with the *dollar itself*. If their theory is good in money matters, they should adapt it to dietary concerns; and then, by a parity of reasoning, meal tickets will be as nourishing as meals. They do not realize that the late panic, and the general perturbation in financial and business circles, could never have been evolved out of anything else than a redundant circulating medium. No panic ever came to this or any other country, out of a volume of currency just sufficient for the legitimate exchanges of the people. Every monetary cyclone has followed barometrical indications of great volume and high pressure in the circulating medium. The panic of 1837, the panic of 1857, and the panic of 1873, together with the panic of 1893—each came out of a very large per-capita circulation. A redundancy in the currency makes credits easy, confidence serene and venturesome to foolhardiness. These conditions breed speculations of the most visionary character, and the vagaries of hare-brained promoters find capitalists with idle funds, ready to invest in the wildest schemes; until at last reason awakes, the fallacies are apparent, the dangers imminent, confidence is wrecked, and disaster logically follows. Moreover, these wandering Commonwealers complain that the wealthy are storing their money in strong boxes and not using it. Proletariats forget that money is the one thing that man struggles for, which never confers any blessing until it leaves him in exchange for something else which he desires. If the leaders of the proletarian brigades now making towards Washington could sequester all the money of the Goulds, Vanderbilts, and Astors, and have it in peaceable possession, upon condition that it should be forever locked up, they would be as poor as the poorest private in their bedraggled armies. The discontented proletariats seem unaware of the fact that the money in the banks of the United States to-day is as anxious to be had and to be used as the people are to have and to use it. But money at present, as in all time, seeks investment only upon good collaterals—safe security. To be sure, there are large sums of currency in the great populational and trade centers of the

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Union. But the money is there legitimately and logically, because in those centers are the great and numerous exchanges; and where multitudes of exchanges are to be made, there money will be also, always. Being a mere tool to facilitate exchanges, it can find nothing to do in sections where no trades are being made. There currency would be as useless as a sawmill in the great American Desert, five hundred miles from timber on either side.

These peripatetic proletariats declare that there is a great *demand* for money in the West and South. Evidently they fail to distinguish between a *demand* for money and the almost universal *desire* for it. A demand for money can never be legitimately made, except when something of value is offered in exchange for it—something that the owner of the money may desire more than the money itself. To illustrate: proletarian cohorts now on this 30th day of April, 1894, camped on the outskirts of Washington, may *desire* terrapin, planked shad, roast beef, turkey, and champagne, but their exchequer forbids rations of that quality; and, therefore, though they may have ever so much *desire*, they make no *overt demand* for such a money-costing dietary. The proletariats say they are in pursuit of work, but so far they indicate only a desire to "work" Congress for special legislation, as the Protectionists have for, lo, these many years.

Among these hundreds of misguided persons, there are probably not one dozen who own homes, either in the country, in villages, in cities, or anywhere else. The majority of them are as homeless, as taxless, and as nomadic as the Aborigines of this continent. If a life history of each individual of the "Coxey Army" could be truthfully written, it would show, no doubt, that, with a few honorable exceptions, the multitude now following the reincarnations of John Lowism, Greenbackism, and all the other isms of ancient and modern times, have, each one of them, paid out, from birth to date, more money for tobacco, whiskey, and beer than for clothing, education, taxes, and food, all put together.

"*Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt*"—by doing nothing men learn to do ill. And the proletariat has learned of the protectionist. And putting the precepts of protection into practice, the proletariat petitions for pecuniary aid from the Government, and proclaims for paternalism by the American Republic.

J. STERLING MORTON.

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FASHION AND INTELLECT.

BY W. H. MALLOCK, AUTHOR OF "IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?" "A ROMANCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY," ETC.

CERTAIN of Lady Jeune's remarks in her article on "Dinners and Diners," which appeared in the January number of this REVIEW, suggest wider considerations than those which she appears to have had immediately in her mind. They are not perhaps amongst the most important considerations in life, but they are nevertheless in their own way interesting; nor need we blush to bestow our attention, any more than our charity, on objects which morally do not very much deserve it.

"It is," says Lady Jeune, "always a mistake to compose a dinner entirely of brilliant people—by this I mean intellectually brilliant. . . . I have," she adds, "a very vivid recollection of a dinner composed of people each of whom was distinguished in every sense of the word. A prime minister, two cabinet ministers, a distinguished soldier, one of the greatest ecclesiastics of the day, a brilliant scientific man, a great journalist, a distinguished lawyer, added to several agreeable and pretty women; and yet one of the guests declared it was the dullest dinner he ever sat down to."

This anecdote exemplifies an undoubted fact, though it is a fact which many people are slow to recognize; and even Lady Jeune mentions it as though there were in it something paradoxical. It does indeed require an explanation, and she herself offers one. People intellectually brilliant are anxious, she says, to eclipse one another, and the consequence is that all the luminaries are darkened. In this account of the matter there is doubtless a certain amount of truth, but it does not even suggest the chief cause of the disappointing result in question. The chief cause is of quite another kind, and one which, though incident-

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ally connected with the subject she was dealing with, it hardly fell within Lady Jeune's province to discuss.

Intellectually brilliant individuals may make up a dull dinner party by accident, because they happen to eclipse one another's brilliance; and this was perhaps the case on the occasion to which Lady Jeune alludes: but the general reason, and the main reason, of such an occurrence will be found to lie in the broad and simple fact that the qualities which make men brilliant in the intellectual world have no necessary connection whatever with the qualities which make them brilliant in the social world. Many critics of society—of London society in particular—especially those who have little personal acquaintance with it, are accustomed to denounce it with righteous and somewhat acrimonious indignation, for the way in which it neglects persons of moral and mental worth, the earnest worker, the great artist or writer, the profound scientist or philosopher; and courts those who are distinguished by mere frivolous or adventitious advantages, such as beauty, *chic*, wealth, and titular rank. And the undoubted, though partial, truth contained in these familiar remarks has inspired for ages a succession of unceasing sarcasms which have been a great comfort to their authors, without disturbing their objects. But when the truth of the matter is considered more completely, there is found to be in reality little occasion for sarcasm at all: and the conduct which is supposed to be peculiar to a heartless and iniquitous aristocracy is seen to be essentially that natural and inevitable conduct which is followed, in social intercourse, by all ranks and classes.

In discussions like the present, society may mean two things, or rather it suggests two things, each of which must be considered. It may mean some special and limited class, which, though within itself it may contain various elements, yet forms a single body when compared with the outside world, and is acknowledged, in a social sense, to occupy the highest place. But when we are using the word society in this way, it necessarily suggests to us a second meaning, which, in every way but one, is identical—namely, any class, however modest its position, in so far as its members are united by the habit of social intercourse; and if we would understand society in its limited sense, it is necessary to consider it in its more extended sense. A dinner is given in London which glitters with the stars of fashion; a dinner is given

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in a village by a retired solicitor for his friends. In many accidental ways the two entertainments differ ; but each, if it is successful, depends for its success on what are relatively the same conditions.

The first of these conditions undoubtedly is as follows : That the guests should be persons, not necessarily well acquainted with each other, but at all events occupying positions which are, roughly speaking, similar—accustomed to the same manners, judging people's breeding and appearance by the same unformulated standards, instinctively looking at life from the same or from neighboring standpoints, and thus seeing it in practically the same perspective. A distinguished alien from some different social world—either above or below that of the general company —may sometimes give the entertainment an additional zest or *éclat*; but the stranger will be valued precisely because he is a stranger, and he will not so much constitute one of the party as a toy or a curiosity or a divinity for the party to play with, wonder at, or adore. At all events, putting exceptions aside, it may be laid down that the very foundation of agreeable, of natural, and of brilliant social intercourse, no matter in what rank of life, is some general similarity in position, in bringing up, and in tone amongst the various persons concerned.

The more we reflect on the matter, the more important shall we perceive such a similarity to be. In the first place, without it there can be no ease. Almost all social conversation is naturally tinged with certain prejudices, or it appeals to and implies certain standards : and unless these prejudices and standards are the same for all present, everybody will run the risk of wounding his neighbor's feelings, or being more or less unintelligible, or otherwise, in seeking some safe common ground, will become awkward and unnatural, owing to a constant avoidance of subjects he would naturally have spoken of, or opinions he would naturally have expressed. This applies specially to anything like wit or humor—the very things on which brilliance in conversation most depends. Lord Lytton, the novelist, in one of his minor writings, remarked with great acuteness that a man, who was in love with a woman of inferior station, might find nothing in her that jarred on his taste, so long as she was in a serious mood, but that he would be sure before long to find her mirth intolerable. And the same thing is as true of persons meeting

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in society as it is of lovers. There are certain kinds of humor that appeal to all classes alike—certain incidents where absurdity excites a laugh in everybody. But by far the larger part of the humor that gives brightness to social conversation, and all the freshest and most charming part, is born of the moment, and has reference to things and persons which no two social classes see in exactly the same light. Manners, opinions, gestures, which to one class are strange and ludicrous, will be to another the most natural things in the world.

A certain similarity, then, amongst the persons concerned, in point of position, manners, and still more in the social instincts and judgments that underlie manners, is not only more essential than intellect to the production of a brilliant result, but constitutes the only field on which intellect can, in a social sense, do itself justice; or we may call it the canvas on which the picture is painted and which, unseen itself, supports all the colors. The greatest philosopher in the world, or the most caustic critic, if he drops his aspirates, tucks his napkin under his chin, and eyes fashionable people as if they were strange and curious monsters, may be the spiritual life of his generation, but he would be the death of a fashionable dinner party.

But even putting aside all such disqualifying peculiarities, and assuming that everybody we may be dealing with is more or less on a social level, there are many other qualities besides great intellect which make certain persons more brilliant socially than others. There is quickness of repartée; a vivid interest in the news of the day and moment; a gift for collecting such news, a sparkling way of telling it; a humorous way of looking at things, a wide circle of acquaintance, and varied personal experiences; grace of deportment and gesture, which is a silent conversation in itself; in a woman beauty, which includes beauty of dress; in men and women alike, charm of voice; and above all, the charm, the fascination, not of manners, but of manner. Any reunion in any class of society may be agreeable to those concerned; but a reunion is made brilliant only when those concerned possess such qualities as the above in a remarkable and an exceptional degree. When a man of great intellect possesses none of these qualities, his intellect, for social purposes, might as well not exist; but when it is united with any of these, their social value is capable of being indefinitely increased by it. In

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such cases a really powerful mind will show its powers in the discussion of the most trifling topics : it will illuminate a piece of gossip with a whole philosophy of life. But even in such cases it requires to be very carefully controlled, or it will neutralize instead of enhancing the social value of its possessor. Mr. Gladstone is acknowledged, even by his bitterest political opponents, to be one of the most fascinating talkers in London, as much interested in what others say as he is in what he says himself. Lord Macaulay, on the other hand, is reputed by those who knew him to have generally converted all conversation round him into a monologue—a fact to which Dean Stanley has borne very amusing witness; whilst Sidney Smith, when he was asked if he knew Lord Macaulay, answered : "Know him ! I've known him intimately for years. I never spoke to him."

And now let us turn to qualities of another kind—those which so constantly occupy the attention of our social satirists, and which are commonly dismissed by these delightful censors as mere worthless accidents, worshipped only in aristocratic or would-be-aristocratic circles. I mean such qualities, or rather such qualifications as rank or birth or riches or *de-facto* position as such, founded no matter on what. No affectation is more foolish than that which dismisses such accidents as things of no social value. It is nearly always the case that the people who pretend to despise them really themselves set on them a value which is altogether exaggerated. The man who ridicules the social importance of the eldest son of a duke would be furious at being thought himself to be the eldest son of a cobbler. The truth is that in every class of society, no matter how closely connected its members may be, there exist differences of position, independent of any personal quality, which substantially correspond to those existing in the highest class ; and in every class such positions have a certain value given them.

Fashionable society in this respect differs from all other societies only because the most distinguished positions in it are of a more splendid kind ; and the real essence of what is called "vulgarity" or "snobbishness" consists, not in giving those positions a value, but in giving them a wrong value. "Vulgarity" or "snobbishness," in fact, so far as this matter is concerned, is neither more nor less than a tune played badly—played out of time, and with a wrong emphasis on the notes. Of this sort of

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vulgarity there is no doubt a good deal to be found in London, amongst persons who ought to know better; but the judgments and the conduct of which it is made up are, as the very names given to them imply, the judgments and conduct which are specially characteristic of persons imperfectly acquainted with the society in which they aspire to mix. It has been often said that vulgarity of this kind is altogether peculiar to England. The observation is one which requires great qualification; but there is a certain amount of truth in it, and this is very easily accounted for. Social position in England is a far more complicated thing than it is in any Continental country. Except in the case of the heads of the very greatest families and their children, a title in England is in itself no sure indication of a man's social standing, still less of his lineage and connections; and men without titles may, in the Continental sense of the word, be of far "better nobility" than men possessing them, and may hold in society a far more important place. Again, the English *noblesse*, in contrast to such countries as Austria, has throughout its history strengthened itself by alliances with mercantile wealth—alliances which were rare when mercantile wealth was rare, but which have constantly grown more numerous in proportion as that wealth, and the power associated with it, has increased. Thus, putting personal qualities apart, and having regard merely to position, it is almost as difficult for a stranger to judge English society rightly as it is for a foreigner to talk our language without an accent.

But granting the position of everybody to be rightly estimated, how far do persons, merely by their high position, as such, add legitimately to the social brilliancy of an entertainment? The answer is that if they have nothing but their position to recommend them, they add to the brilliancy of an entertainment in precisely the same way as a great genius would who had no powers of conversation. Many people who denounce a hostess for inviting a duke merely because he was a duke would praise her for inviting a great philosopher merely because he was a great philosopher. But if the philosopher were not an agreeable man personally, his social value would be of exactly the same kind as the duke's. It would be derived altogether from the exceptional prestige of his name. He might be the soul of his books, but he would be only a name at the dinner table. We shall find, however, that in an old country like England, high

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social position, more often than not, gives to its possessors many things besides itself. The English fashionable world, no matter how it may have changed from one generation to another, or how much new blood may be finding its way into it, has inherited the unbroken traditions and good breeding of centuries ; and the eldest sons of the more important English families have had, most of them, exceptional opportunities of acquiring or assimilating the best that such a world can teach them ; whilst their position has generally made them, at an early age, more or less conversant with practical business of some kind, such as that of a magistrate, or the head of various associations, and especially the business of administering a considerable property. On many men no doubt all these advantages are lost, or produce an unfortunate effect ; but in most cases they at least do something towards making their possessors agreeable members of society. Thus if those social censors are right who think that a dinner party would be improved by the presence of a man merely because he is distinguished as a philosopher, for precisely the same reason is a dinner party improved by the presence of a man distinguished merely because he is a duke : only the duke is far more likely to be a pleasant man of the world.

But this is not all. The duke also represents in a high degree many things on which society, in its limited sense, is necessarily founded. People are always pleased at the presence of an eminent representative of any power, fact, or principle on which they themselves depend : and this observation naturally leads us on to an aspect of the social question which thus far has been only obliquely glanced at. Thus far I have been trying to make it clear that the qualities or qualifications which play the most prominent part in society of the highest class are qualities and qualifications which, under one form or another, play a similar part in society of every class. Let us now consider in what way society of the highest class, and especially such society in England, differs from society on other social levels. To the outside observer the principal difference will appear to be that a large part of this society is composed of persons possessing titular rank : and to the outside observer their social intercourse often seems to be nothing but a process of mutual "tuft-hunting." This, however, is altogether a misconception. The prominence in English society of persons possess-

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ing titular rank depends on very different causes. Its explanation is to be found in the political history of this country; and to understand it we must go back to the particular form of feudalism introduced by the Norman Conquest. Some of the most exclusive societies that the world has ever known, such as that of Venice at one time, have been composed of persons possessing no titular rank at all: and in every country—even in Austria—the title is "but the guinea's stamp." The essential point is the position and the actual circumstances of those concerned, and position always depends on one thing, before all things, namely power. In the Middle Ages power was mainly military. In the modern world it depends mainly on wealth. But the social results of this power, no matter what its basis, depend not only on its existence at any given moment, but on its stability, on its continuance in the families of those who first became possessed of it, or its natural transmission to new families who ally themselves with the old—a process which in England has been going on from time immemorial, and has been accelerated in modern times without changing its character. In short, taking the higher classes of England as a whole, their position depends on precisely the same things that Aristotle long ago said every aristocracy must depend upon—namely, inherited wealth.

It is not meant by this that each individual member must be rich, but that the society to which he belongs is ultimately based on wealth. The best society, however, differs from other societies, not only in position, but in the results of that position. The former, in fact, is of social value wholly and solely because it produces the latter. One of the chief of these results, as I have said before, is certain heritage of manners, and manner, which with constant modifications, but without break, has come down to the present generation from remote periods. Society, indeed, as we now know it, became possible only in comparatively recent times; but none the less it derives from the Middle Ages the feelings and bearing of an historical ruling class; and though no longer conscious of supremacy in the world of arms, it is conscious of a similar supremacy in the world of manners. This gives its members a certain instinctive command of life, a crisp precision in their social judgments, and in their ways of expressing them, and the ease of those who make the very

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conventions that sometimes hamper them; and these qualities constitute some of the chief charms and most distinctive marks of well-bred people. Again, the best society, in virtue of the position of its members, differs from other societies in this respect, that it is a national, not a provincial, body, and to a certain degree it is a cosmopolitan body. The persons who compose it have their homes in every part of the country, from the Land's End to Caithness, from Norfolk to the West of Ireland. Their local connections being thus so varied and so distant, they are, as a society, not narrowed by them; but, on the contrary, when they meet in London or in each other's country houses, what meets is as it were a kingdom, not a district or a neighborhood. They are, moreover, speaking generally, frequent travellers; and a large number of them travel, not as mere tourists, but mix more or less in the society of other countries and capitals—notably of Paris, Rome, and New York. It is true that much of our old insular feeling still survives, as is exemplified in the fact that a certain well-known peer not many years ago described a diplomat of Eastern Europe as "that d——d Frenchman her ladyship has asked to stay with us"; or the yet more pithy saying made by an equally well-known Englishman in a certain southern watering place, where he spent five months of each year, "that one foreigner is exactly like another." But in spite of these insularities, the best society of England is to a considerable extent in touch with similar societies abroad; and these far-reaching connections, both home and foreign, give it naturally and inevitably a width, a freedom, and a variety of ideas impossible in any society not similarly situated. To all this, two things yet remain to be added. This particular social body of which we are speaking has been and still is the chief patron of art; and till comparatively recent times the principal treasures of art, in the way of architecture, pictures, furniture, plate, and last, but not least, dress, were either produced for or came to be possessed by its wealthier members, and were familiar to and formed the taste of all. And further, this same body was not only till a very recent time the centre of political power, but it possesses, in spite of democracy, considerable power still. The centres of political life are still close to it, even if not in its midst; it possesses exceptional facilities for learning the latest news—for

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hearing, as it were, the heart-beats of the legislature and the administration; and it is still, speaking generally, stimulated by ideas of leadership and responsibility, which widen and quicken the thoughts, even when they produce no useful action.

The influence of all these circumstances on those brought up amongst them is easily understood. They create a kind of social climate, in which most of the qualities which give charm to social intercourse ripen in a way that is not possible elsewhere, and acquire more delicate flavors. This is not indeed most true, but true most obviously with regard to charm of manner; for manner, though its raw material is always personal temperament, is, in its finished state, the result of social circumstances, and bears something the same relation to them that its scent does to a flower; and though the greatest charm of manner is a personal gift, like genius, and though persons who have enjoyed the same social advantages possess it no doubt in very different degrees, it is only in the best society that its greatest and finest charm is, as a rule, possible; and the manner of any average man or woman, brought up in such society, is undoubtedly, with few exceptions, more agreeable than it would have been had the person in question been brought up in other circumstances. This will perhaps be more readily understood when a fact is mentioned which, though absolutely true, is the exact reverse of what many people imagine; and that is that manner in the best society is distinguished before all things by its simplicity and absence of affectation—a simplicity which is mainly due to that command of life of which I have already spoken, and the fact that the conventions which those in question obey are conventions which are made or sanctioned by themselves, and themselves only. It is only in the best society that this complete simplicity is to be found combined with the highest polish.

The reader will perceive that the foregoing observations point to the conclusion that social intercourse or society, in its most finished and most brilliant form—which is quite a distinct thing from interesting discussion or the communion of intimate friends—is possible only in a class which is in some sense an aristocracy; and by an aristocracy I mean a class which, though it need not be hereditary so far as all its members are concerned, has yet an hereditary nucleus. And in this qualified sense, the best English society is an aristocracy still. A good deal has been said about

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the omnipotence of mere wealth in modern London, and of how any vulgar man, by the brute force of his millions, can make his way in society and command the homage of everybody. And in all this there is some truth; but there is more exaggeration. In the first place it is only fortunes of exceptional magnitude that will of themselves give their possessors any exceptional social advantages. Moderate fortunes may supply the means by which persons with social ambitions can make their personal qualifications felt: but of enormous fortunes the total number is very small. New men have been raising themselves for the last ninety years, but there are not in the whole kingdom more than some 250 with more than £50,000 a year; and between seventy and eighty of them are old-established landed magnates. But it is still more important to observe that whatever new members may add themselves to the *de facto* aristocracy of the kingdom, they do this only by coalescing with or in so far as they coalesce with the old, and become gradually and naturally permeated by their traditions and their tone, and identified with their interests. The same observation applies also to those who, not being persons of any family, and not having even any solid fortune to aid them, acquire social position solely by their intellectual or personal qualities. There is in fact no doubt that, whatever change may have taken place in English society during the past fifty years, it is still a society dominated by the tone and instincts of an hereditary class—that it is an aristocracy adapted to a plutocratic and democratic environment, but that it is none the less a *de facto* aristocracy, and that its nucleus is still the landed families of the country, who enjoy the prestige either of long descent or hereditary titular rank, or both.

But now it remains to call attention to the following fact. We have just been speaking of the best English society as an aristocracy; but the members of such an aristrocracy need not always compose the best society, or indeed society at all, in the sense in which we have been using the term. A family gathering, for instance, composed of near relations, invited to meet one another on account of early and life-long intimacy, is a very different thing from a fashionable reunion, though accidentally some who take part in it may be persons eminently fashionable. But to meet one's parents, or children, or cousins, or aunts, or uncles is not what is commonly called going into society, and

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involves none of those principles or considerations on which fashionable society is founded. Fashionable society in England is not an aristocracy, but a republic inside an aristocracy ; and to a certain extent it is a republic everywhere. It was so even at the Court of Versailles. It was a republic with a king for president. And it is, and always has been, a republic in this way—that, though birth or position or external circumstance of some special kind is practically necessary to qualify men and women for belonging to it, these things alone are not enough to qualify them, nor do they determine the place in it which those who belong to it will hold. Wealth, for instance, in large numbers of its citizens is a practical necessity, though numbers—especially the unmarried—may be comparatively poor : and high rank, in such a country as England, is certain to be the possession of many, and also counts for much. But personal qualities count for even more, and the various values of these will often completely alter the relative positions that result merely from rank, wealth, or family. Each advantage in each case has, as examiners would say, so many marks allowed it ; and the marks given for exceptional personal qualities and an average position will be often greater than the marks given for average personal qualities and an exceptional position. For instance, exceptional beauty and exceptional fascination in a woman will often practically upset all tables of precedence, except as regards the order in which she goes in to dinner. No picture of fashionable society can be falser than that which represents it as the mere creation of adventitious circumstances, and the apotheosis of adventitious advantages. On the contrary no fashionable society—and certainly no brilliant society—has ever existed without the possession by its members of distinct personal qualities which, even if they seem frivolous to many serious people, are yet in their own way charming, and which many serious and highly gifted people would be utterly unable to acquire, and are considerably the worse for wanting. What these qualities are I have already indicated ; and great intellectual gifts, when allied with others, take a high place amongst them, though, it must be confessed, they are not essential. A beautiful voice, for instance, in a woman who also possesses humor, feeling, and experience of the world does far more to make her charming and brilliant socially than qualities which would enable her to produce a primer on

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political economy. I think, as I write, of one lady in particular who possessed to her dying day a voice and manner which held wit and humor in their very tones and inflections, and rivalled the charms which in her youth had made her the Queen of Beauty. There is another lady also, still happily alive, of similar rank, but enjoying a somewhat different *entourage*, and not unknown at Newmarket—of whom the same thing may be said. She can convey more sense of amusement in a hardly audible laugh than would be excited by the most labored witticism. Could saints laugh like that, sermons would be unnecessary.

Brilliant society, in short, is like a game of skill, or a concert, in which the best results are produced only by specially gifted persons, and must not be confounded with that other social intercourse founded on close relationship, or early association, or a desire to discuss any given serious subject. Satirists call the world of fashion heartless; and it is a common and a perfectly true saying that "it is impossible to give a good ball without being very ill-natured." But fashionable society is in this respect no worse than any other game is; and a hostess is no more really heartless because she does not ask a dull cousin or nephew to a fashionable dinner party than a man would be in not asking a cripple to play in a game of cricket, or a person with no voice to take a leading part in an opera.

Brilliant society is one of the pleasantest things in life for those who are able to take a part in it. Those who are unable to do this may comfort themselves by reflecting that by not taking part in it they escape much personal mortification, and also that, of all the things in life, it is one of the least important. Thus by the aid of a little sophistical philosophy we may—let us hope—be all of us thoroughly pleased, and enjoy the conviction that this is the best of all possible worlds—which after all need not be saying very much for it.

W. H. Mallock.

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WHAT SHOULD A DOCTOR BE PAID?

BY WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D., SURGEON-GENERAL U. S. ARMY (RETIRED LIST).

THE chivalric theory that lawyers, clergymen, and physicians are bound to render their services to those who are afflicted either in their estates, their souls, or their bodies without fee and without reward, and that whatever pecuniary recompense is made is tendered and received under the thin disguise of being an *honorarium*, has long since gone the way of many other chivalric ideas. The lawyer takes his "retainer," his "refresher," and his final fee as a matter of course, and, as a rule, gauges each demand in accordance with his ideas of the value of his services and of the means of his client. The clergyman of every religion receives the Sunday collection, or the pew rents, or the tithes, or a fixed stipend as the case may be, and other things being equal, and if he is free to do so by the laws of his church, goes to that parish that pays him the largest sum of money. He even, in these latter days, sometimes expects a fee for the burial of the dead, always for the performance of a marriage, and not infrequently for receiving a soul burdened with original sin into the fold of the church.

All this is very well, and, as a rule, people do not grumble; but the physician, whose labors are more onerous than those either of the clergyman or the lawyer, whose services are of such a confidential and personal nature that mere money is a most inadequate return, is generally (and I use the word "generally" advisedly) paid grudgingly, and often his modest account is cut down by the false plea of poverty to a sum that nothing but the consciousness that he must either take that or go without causes him to receive. I have known people in comfortable and even in

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affluent circumstances put on their shabbiest clothes and assume their most melancholy expression for the purpose of advancing the plea of being in limited means, when they made a professional visit to a physician; and when they had profited by the disgraceful subterfuge, brag to their friends of their success in "beating" the doctor. I know of a man whose wealth, at a moderate estimate, is twenty-five millions of dollars, who gives over ten thousand a year to his church, and twenty-five thousand to his lawyers (sometimes much more than this), who fares sumptuously every day; and yet, who when called upon to pay his physician, lays the notes on the table, still keeping his fingers on them, and in the course of conversation puts them back into his pocket, and again lays them on the table with lingering hands and finally watches them with avaricious eyes as he backs himself out of the consulting-room. I have known another whose child had been saved from death by diphtheria, by the constant care of the physician day and night, and who, when a modest pecuniary claim was made, sent the note back with a demand for the items, and then, when the physician indignantly recalled his memorandum and made him a present of the amount charged, accepted the gift, and changed his physician for a lower priced man. And yet this individual (it would be a libel on the race to call him a man) was receiving an income of over fifty thousand dollars a year, and lifted up his voice every Sunday before one of the highest priced preachers in the city of New York.

Undoubtedly a considerable amount of this tendency in the laity to place a low estimate on the services of physicians is due to their self-depreciation, and to the depreciation of their brethren in which many members of the profession indulge. This is shown in their disposition to render important medical services for very small fees, or for nothing at all, especially when some public institution is concerned, or some so-called charity with ample funds to pay good salaries to their whole staff except the medical portion. In the city of New York, for instance, the Commissioners of Charities and Correction receive four or five thousand dollars a year each, but the physicians, without whose aid they could not carry on their establishment a single day, are expected to give their time and knowledge to the wealthy city without any other reward than the slight increase of reputation which hospital ap-

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pointments are supposed to give. And so with the hundreds of dispensaries, the medical appointments to which are sought after with avidity mainly for the advantages they are expected to confer in attracting paying practices, and to some extent undoubtedly for the experience which they afford to those who, if they waited for patients with fees in their pockets, would be a long time in acquiring a practical knowledge of very simple professional details.

Now, there is no proper reason why such advantages should not be merely incidental, as in every other profession, and why the physician, young or old, should not be properly paid for the services he renders to the poor of the city or State. Nobody else gives them anything for nothing; their fuel, their food, their clothing, their medicines, even their religion, are paid for by the public. As to the legal services which are rendered, I venture to say that not ten physicians out of every hundred receive as much compensation as do the corporation attorneys and the other lawyers employed by the city of New York.

A united effort on the part of the medical profession would very soon change all this. Such an effort is, however, outside of the range of possibility. For there will always be found some who, placing a low estimate on the value of their own services, will rush in to secure the places which those of a higher grade resign.

No one questions the fact that saving a man's life is ordinarily a matter of more importance to him than winning a lawsuit involving a million, or even twenty million, dollars; and yet the lawyers in the one case would doubtless receive many thousands of dollars, perhaps running up into the millions; while the physician in the other would be considered exorbitant in his demands if he placed the pecuniary value of his services at a paltry fraction of the sum cheerfully given to the legal advisers.

The tourist captured by Sicilian brigands does not hesitate to give twenty thousand dollars under the threat that failure to do so will surely result in the amputation of his nose. He would give ten times as much, if he had it, to save himself from so horrible a mutilation. But should a surgeon, by a skilful operation, preserve the same organ of the same tourist from the destructive influence of injury or disease, the probability is that, should he fix his monetary compensation at so large a sum as five hundred

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dollars, he would be regarded as almost as much of a robber as the Sicilian brigands, and that even many of his fellow-practitioners would look at him with that degree of envy which the obtaining of such a fee would be likely to excite.

To be sure, in the one case there is no alternative. If the money is not promptly paid, the nose goes; while in the other there are many surgeons who will gladly do all in their power to save the threatened proboscis for a much less sum than five hundred dollars. The patient knows this, and therefore he rebels; but few will question the assertion that if he is able (and on this point hangs much of the ethics of medical fees) he should pay the surgeon who saves his nose by skill and kindness at least as much as he gives the man who proposes to cruelly deprive him of it. From the earliest times the rich have paid, as was eminently proper, more than the poor for medical services. Thus John of Gadsden, an English medical practitioner of distinction who flourished in the thirteenth century, required his disciples to follow his example, and to charge the rich twice as much as they demanded of the poor. It is only necessary to refer to the various histories of medicine to discover that several hundred years ago physicians and surgeons were compensated to an extent that would even in this extravagant age be regarded as princely.

That the medical man should make his fees bear some relation to the means of his patient is a matter that seems eminently just and proper. Physicians do a great deal of work for which they receive very little money, and more still for which they get nothing at all. For this the rich should in part pay; it is unjust that the physician alone should bear the brunt. The value of medical services is always great, and it is only the rich who can properly compensate the physician who renders them. When the same services are given to a poor person, it is impossible that they can be adequately rewarded, and hence smaller fees are cheerfully received. It is really not that the rich are charged more, but that the poor are charged less. It would seem right that medical fees should be arranged upon the basis of the patient being worth a certain amount (say a hundred thousand dollars), and that the *honorarium,* if we choose to use that term, should be adjusted accordingly, being more or less as the wealth of the patient was greater or less than the sum fixed upon.

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Take for instance a case like the following. A gentleman rated as two or three times a millionaire is suffering from a spinal affection, slowly but surely advancing towards a fatal termination. Several skilful neurologists pronounce the disease to be *locomotor ataxia* and hold out no hope of an arrest of the morbid process. Indeed the consensus of opinion limits the duration of his life to, at the most, five years of suffering, the last two or three of which it is quite certain will be marked by inability to walk or even to stand without assistance. All this is in accordance with the experience gained by extensive practical knowledge of the disease in question and of its uniformly fatal termination. In despair of receiving any benefit, but to oblige his friends who are not willing to give up all hope, he consults another physcian. Examination shows that the diagnosis is correct and that the prospect of recovery is *almost* nothing. "Almost" for this physician is of a hopeful temperament, one who is not willing to give up while there is a ghost of a chance of saving life, and one, moreover, who knows his business, who possesses unbounded courage, who is not afraid of responsibility, who is fertile of resources, and who understands that kind of scientific experimentation which only a thorough acquaintance with medicines, with the forces of nature, and with the constitution of his patient can justify him in bringing into use in the case of a human being. In the course of a few months the progress of the disease is arrested, the atrocious pains cease, the gait becomes steady, and the many accompanying morbid phenomena either disappear entirely or are so mitigated in violence as to be no longer a source of suffering. Ten, fifteen years pass, and the man is to all appearances in good health. He goes about the crowded streets of a city, walking in the course of a day several miles without assistance or suffering from undue fatigue. He attends dinner parties and eats and drinks like the other guests, he carries on an extensive business, and adds year by year to his wealth. Life is full of charms to him, and he bids fair to enjoy it for a score more of years. How should such a man recompense the physician who has done all this for him? Are the paltry five or ten dollar fees for each visit a sufficient pecuniary reward, amounting as they do perhaps to no more than a beggarly thousand dollars or so? Would five hundred thousand dollars be too large an amount for him to pay? And is it not quite certain that to the lawyer who should guarantee

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to save him from the loss of his three millions in a desperate lawsuit he would give that, or even more than that sum ?

Or, suppose that the physician had in the beginning addressed the patient something after this manner :

"You have asked me to tell you the truth as I understand it. Well, you are affected with one of the most intractable diseases known to medical science. Your physicians have made a correct diagnosis, and have treated you with skill and in accordance with the most advanced ideas of those who have given exclusive attention to such affections. I do not say that I can cure you ; on the contrary, the probability is that nothing I can do will be of any material service to you. But there is just a glimmering of a hope that I can, at any rate, arrest the further progress of your disease and prolong your life in comparative comfort for at least ten years. Now I am willing to try, on consideration that if I succeed you shall give me a fee of half a million dollars. If I fail you shall pay nothing. I have a plan of treatment which I have published in medical journals, brought before medical societies, and described in detail before my classes in medical colleges. But the profession accepts new ideas slowly, and many of its members, as they have done in former days, and as is now constantly done with greater men than I, abuse me in unmeasured terms as a visionary and an empiric (as if we were not all empirics, and as if the best physician is not the best empiric). I propose to try this system of treatment. I may not succeed, but at any rate you will be no worse than you are now, and if under its use your disease is cured or arrested in its progress. you shall give me one-sixth of your fortune."

Of course physicians do not talk in this manner to their patients, but lawyers and business men frequently act in strict accordance with such a proposal, and their clients and co-operators agree to its provisions without hesitation.

It is safe to say that no man suffering with such a disease as the one I have mentioned and reposing confidence in the physician and possessing the ability to meet the obligation. would reiect the proposal.

Now take an actual case such as the following :

A gentleman of great wealth, while returning from a convivial gathering at which he had imbibed too much champagne, fell and struck his head against the curbstone. He was taken up by the friends who were with him and carried in a carriage to his own residence. Although not comatose at first, stupor gradually supervened, so that by the time he arrived home he was profoundly insensible. His family physician was called, and after making a thorough examination could find no evidence of a fracture of the skull. He gave the opinion that a blood-vessel had been ruptured, but he did not know enough to locate the exact

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place of injury, nor did such acquaintance with the science and art of surgery as he possessed enable him to obtain a clear idea of what had happened within the man's skull. Another physician who was called in and who was supposed to be well up in his profession was equally helpless. Both united in the opinion that there was no hope, and that there was nothing to be done but to wait for death to end the scene. Then at a fortunate moment a son who was a student of medicine begged that a young surgeon, a friend of his, might be called in consultation. The two older medical men objected on the ground that he was so greatly their junior that it would be beneath their dignity to refer to him for advice; but the youth, who knew of his friend's ability and of his work in the clinics and hospitals, urged so piteously that his petition might be granted that his mother consented; the respectable professional gentlemen withdrew from what they considered to be a hopeless case; and the young doctor, the ink on whose diploma was scarcely dry, was summoned. The history of the case was given him, examination showed that the right side of the skull had been struck, and that there was paralysis of the left arm. The patient was by this time in a state of deep stupor. The diagnosis was made that meningeal hemorrhage (rupture of a blood vessel in the membranes of the brain) had been produced, and that blood had been effused between the brain and the skull and was pressing on the organ. Death was inevitable unless relief were promptly afforded. There was no hesitation. The trephine was at once applied at the place where his knowledge of anatomy and physiology showed him the clot must be, and there it was, the blood pouring out from a small artery that had been ruptured. The surface of the brain was cleaned, the bleeding vessel tied and almost in an instant the patient regained consciousness and the power of motion. Complete recovery quickly followed.

Now, what should have been this young man's fee? If ever a human life has been saved, this man saved one. His patient was worth, at the lowest estimate, half a million dollars; one-fifth of that sum would have been reasonable, and yet, when the modest claim of five hundred dollars was made, it was rejected as exorbitant, and, as the doctor was poor, he took two hundred and fifty rather than contend for what he thought was right, but

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which, under the circumstances, was a preposterously, almost criminally, low charge.

Such cases as these disclose another element that should be taken into consideration by medical men in regulating their fees.

It is manifestly unjust that there should be a uniform rate of fees applicable to all medical men, regardless of the skill and experience of the practitioner. There are many inside the profession who would have a level grade for all, just as do the trades unions, which prohibit a competent bricklayer from laying more bricks in a day than can be laid by an inferior workman. But superior science and ability should count largely in the medical profession in the matter of fees, and to a certain degree they do, but to nothing like the extent that should prevail. They are the strongest kind of factors with lawyers, and they should be still more powerful with doctors. Boldness, originality, knowledge, tact, and above all, that peculiar power which enables the physician to comprehend almost at a glance the nature of the case with which he has to deal, should be high-priced to those who have the ability to pay.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that no matter how much the medical man may receive in fees in the course of a year, the work that he does for nothing would, even if moderately paid for, reach a sum far in excess of the pecuniary remuneration from his well-to-do or wealthy patients. No class of men do so much in the way of charity as those who practice medicine. It is time that superior skill in them and wealth in their patients should count for more than has hitherto been the case, and their fees should be promptly paid. Gratitude is an evanescent emotion; and the medical account presented months after the service has been rendered is too often regarded like the bill for a dinner eaten long ago.

W. A. HAMMOND.

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THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN ENGLAND.

BY SIR ELLIS ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, M. P.

THE political situation in England is more confused than it has been for many years. No one seems to have a clear forecast of what the next few months will bring forth. Hitherto the issue has been between the two great parties in the State: between Conservatives and Liberals, or within the last eight years, since Mr. Gladstone's fatal excursus after Home Rule, between Unionists and Gladstonians. Now, however, that Mr. Gladstone has gone, the old dividing line between the parties shows signs of breaking up. The old order seems to be changing and giving place to new. We are on the eve of a development of what M. Gambetta described eighteen years ago in France as *les nouvelles couches sociales*. Lord Rosebery himself, in a recent speech, in reply to the address of the London County Council, adumbrated the formation of a new party.

There is no doubt that the growing interest and importance of the so-called "Labor Question," and the increasing power of the Trades Unions, in and out of Parliament, present a multitude of fresh problems and of fresh political forces which must perplex and may easily upset the calculations of the most experienced political managers. The present government have truckled to the Trades Unions, especially to the most extreme section of them represented by Mr. John Burns, Mr. S. Woods, and other agitators. They have accepted the eight-hour day, which nobody really believes in. They are lowering the hours of work in the Government arsenals and dockyards to eight, thereby imposing an extra burden of nearly 10 per cent. upon the taxpayers. They abandoned the Employers' Liability Bill, although the Lords had passed nine-tenths of it, at the dictation of the Trades Union agitators. They have increased the wages of many artisans in

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Government employ. Their budget has been so devised as to throw nearly the whole burden of the increased taxation upon the upper and middle classes.

These are all bids for the labor vote, and they are intended to counteract if possible the unpopular effect of the bad trade and falling wages, which have prevailed during the twenty months since August, 1892, while the Radical party, first under Mr. Gladstone and now under Lord Rosebery, have held office. It is also hoped by the Ministry that their failure to fulfil their promises made at the last election, the painful barrenness of their legislative record, and their phenomenal collapse over Home Rule, may all be overshadowed and forgotten amid the allurements of a proposed "labor" programme. So much for the *nouvelles couches sociales*. Mr. Gladstone himself is evidently not quite easy as to the future; for in his letter to his constituents in Midlothian, published on March 23d, he addressed some words of grave warning to the working classes, which do him much more credit than his last violent speech in the House of Commons.

There have been some surprising events in our political life within the past six weeks. The first was Mr. Gladstone's resignation on March 3d. The accurate predictions of the *Pall Mall Gazette* had somewhat prepared the public mind for this step, but few expected that it would be accepted so readily and with so little excitement. Hardly a voice was seriously raised against the retirement of the most conspicuous figure identified with English politics for the past sixty years. There has been a considerable amount of regret and eulogy, but even this has been much milder and less earnest than might have been expected. The fact is that Mr. Gladstone's retirement has been felt as a relief, even by his own friends. He was opposed to phases of policy which most of his colleagues realized to be essential for the interests of the country and for their own popularity. The increase in the navy, which was an absolute necessity for the imperial and commercial greatness of England abroad, and even for the safeguarding of the liberties and the food supplies of the nation at home, has been synchronous with Mr. Gladstone's resignation. The settlement of the future of Uganda, upon which depends the future of British power in Eastern and Central Africa, was also impossible so long as Mr. Gladstone turned the balance in favor of surrender. Now by the decision of Lord Rosebery's government to establish a Pro-

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tectorate over Uganda and the adjacent regions, British influence will stretch from end to end of the dark continent, from Alexandria to Cape Town. That will be a splendid day for England. The fruition of the work of men like Livingstone and Baker, Gordon and Stanley, Moffat and Frere, will then be finally concluded and richly reaped through the enterprise and statesmanship of Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

What will be Lord Rosebery's future? Will he be able to bend the bow of Ulysses? Can he hold together the heterogeneous mass of faddists, crotcheteers, fanatics, Home Rulers, and revolutionaries that compose the Radical party? It was hard enough for Mr. Gladstone, with his unrivalled parliamentary experience, his matchless dexterity, and his venerable and almost divine prestige, to keep these hostile and often warring factions together, under the shelter of what Mr. Punch once happily described as the "Grand Old Umbrella." Can a young peer, nearly forty years Mr. Gladstone's junior, satisfy the insatiable demands of Irish Nationalists, of Disestablishmentarians, both Welsh and Scotch, of Registration Reformers of many varieties, of Trades Unionists, of Socialists and of Teetotallers, not to say anything about anti-vaccinators, anti-vivisectionists, anti-opium men, and the advocates of peace at any price? Can Lord Rosebery manage to lead such a *pot-pourri* of factions, as a united party, to victory against the solid phalanx of the Conservative and Unionist host?

It is no easy task that Lord Rosebery has undertaken. But he has many requisites for the campaign, difficult as it is. He has perfect confidence in himself. In appearance, manner, and style the new Premier is in every respect the antipodes of his predecessor. He is a patrician, coming of a very old family, and has never had a seat in the House of Commons. He is of barely middle height, inclined to be stout, with a smooth face and an exceedingly boyish appearance. Lord Rosebery has a keen sense of humor, in which Mr. Gladstone was painfully deficient; and he is a master of polished phraseology and epigram. His delivery is deliberate, and rather that of the practised, than of the natural-born, orator. He does not enjoy the iron physique that has stood Mr. Gladstone in such good stead. He has long been delicate and suffered much from insomnia; in this respect it is perhaps fortunate that he is spared the constant and

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terrible racket of leading the House of Commons. Like Lord Palmerston and Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Rosebery dislikes, most of all things, being bored. The earnest Radical and the fanatical crotcheteer are an abhorrence to him. But Lord Rosebery has tact and adroitness to repress these feelings of aversion. He can flatter with much dexterity, and the skill with which he has played to the gallery in presiding for a short time over the London County Council, and in his recent attentions to that body, show that the new Prime Minister means to lose no opportunity of extending his popularity and his influence.

Lord Rosebery is now trying to form a new party in Great Britain. He is evidently playing to get the moderate English and Scotch vote. In foreign and colonial politics he is an Imperialist, thereby being in sharp contrast to his predecessor, who was of the old *laissez aller* Manchester school. He believes in upholding the interests and the honor of England abroad. He professes to be as unwilling to yield and surrender to the rivals or foes of England as Mr. Gladstone was always unwilling to resist them. In dealing with French aggression against Siam last summer Lord Rosebery was indeed painfully outwitted and deplorably weak. But then Mr. Gladstone was Premier, and Lord Rosebery may not have had a free hand. He has done much to atone for the awkward consequences of Mr. Gladstone's indiscretions in Egypt. Lord Rosebery is posing as a Radical "Jingo," a very unusual but formidable combination. This imperialism renders him popular with educated Englishmen, and makes him a more difficult leader for Conservative politicians to attack than Mr. Gladstone was, or than Sir William Harcourt would have been. Moreover, the new naval programme, inadequate and temporary though it is, which Lord Rosebery's ministry have put forth, also appeals strongly to the moderate and educated vote of England and Scotland. So does his novel attitude as to Home Rule; especially his emphatic statement that England must be converted to Home Rule before Home Rule can be carried into effect. Lord Cork, who resigned office in 1886 rather than follow Mr. Gladstone in his Home Rule policy, has lately joined Lord Rosebery's Ministry as Master of the Horse.

Though Lord Rosebery has under Irish pressure made some half-hearted attempts to explain away his pregnant pronounce-

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ment about the "Conversion of England," he has never really withdrawn it. The practical meaning of such a statement is the postponement of Home Rule to the Greek Kalends; for England never will be converted to Home Rule; certainly never to such a Home Rule scheme as Mr. Gladstone's bill of 1893 contained. That scheme would have given Ireland a separate Parliament of her own to manage Irish affairs, without the intervention of English or Scotch members, and at the same time it would have planted eighty Irish members in the heart of the Imperial or British Parliament, with full power to discuss, to vote upon, to practically contest, every English and Scotch measure. That scheme would have imposed for Imperial expenditure a burden of 35s. a year upon the average Briton, while it would have cut off the average Irishman with only 6s. 6d. a year. It would have inflicted grievous hardships and perils upon the industrious Protestants of Ulster and upon the Loyalists throughout Ireland. It would have prepared a terrible danger for Great Britain by placing an organized and practically independent Ireland in the hands of her bitter enemies; and this close to the great western seaports of Britain and commanding the avenues of British commerce and food supplies. These facts have now been made patent to Englishmen and Scotchmen by the protracted and most valuable debates in the House of Commons upon the Home Rule scheme of 1893.

Lord Rosebery speaks of the anti-Home Rule majority in England as decreasing because England in 1886 sent, out of 485 members, a majority of 213 against Home Rule, whereas in 1892 the English majority for the Union was only 71. But no one knows better than Lord Rosebery the fallacy of his argument. The general election of 1886 was taken upon the question of Home Rule and upon that alone. Hence, England voted almost solidly against it. The general election of 1892 was not taken upon Home Rule at all, but upon the many crotchets and fads of the so-called Newcastle programme. Home Rule was in 1892 kept everywhere in the background by Radical candidates and wire-pullers. If England and Scotland were polled to-morrow upon the issue of Home Rule alone, there would be a greater Unionist majority even than in 1886.

But the Irish Nationalists. It will naturally be asked, What of them? Do they accept this indefinite postponement of Home

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Rule? The Irish Nationalist members number 80; 9 are Parnellites, and these have adopted a very independent attitude towards the Radical Government. The 71 Anti-Parnellites have, however, long been Gladstonians or Ministerialists, pure and simple. They receive the official whips and vote far more regularly with the Ministry than do some of the extreme English Radicals. Just now the 71 Anti-Parnellites are particularly subservient to the Government. Their funds are notoriously low. Since the fall of Mr. Parnell and the breach in his once all-powerful band, the subscriptions from the Irish abroad, notably from the American Irish, have grievously fallen off. The result is that the Anti-Parnellite party is in very low water and dependent upon the Radical treasury for its election expenses. The Anti-Parnellites are in no position to quarrel with the Government or to press Lord Rosebery too closely for the meaning of his surprising and heterodox utterances upon Home Rule. Moreover the Anti-Parnellite party is very helpless owing to its internal divisions. Like the Poles, the Irish Nationalists are exceedingly fissiparous. Their parties always split into factions, and their factions subdivide and multiply. There is the main division of Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites. The Anti-Parnellites again are divided into at least three factions that are now quarrelling with and reviling each other with truly Celtic bitterness. Healyites, Sextonites, and Dillonites now detest one another even more than they hate the Saxon. The pristine fame of Committee-Room No. 15 is being revived by their present feuds. So keen are these feuds that the Irish Nationalist members cannot even agree upon the use for the evicted tenants of the £28,000 now lying idle in Paris.

Lord Rosebery is likely to have more trouble with the British Radicals than with the Irish Nationalists. The pranks of that Prince of Farceurs and Arch-Priest of Mischief, Mr. Henry Labouchere, have already given the Government a serious shake, and may cause them further trouble. Some three months back the Radical wire-pullers, at their wits' end for a popular electioneering cry, bethought them of the natural prejudice that exists in a democratic age against a privileged chamber and a titled aristocracy. Their leaders in the Government had wholly failed during their twenty months of office to do anything sufficiently creditable abroad or at home to furnish a taking cry. Accordingly the agitators tried to raise the political wind to the tune of "Down with

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the Lords." They forced the Ministry to abandon their Employers' Liability Bill, in order to give color to the onslaught upon the peers. At this moment came Mr. Gladstone's resignation to nip the calculations of the Radicals in the bud. In vain did Mr. Labouchere try to foment an agitation against a "Peer-Premier," as Mr. Gladstone's successor. In vain did he and a few stalwart Radicals try to secure the reversion of the leadership for Sir William Harcourt. That gentleman's long and conspicuous services to his party were ignored. His claims were treated with scant notice, barely even with courtesy by the Liberal press. So soon as it was known that the Queen had sent for Lord Rosebery, the members of Mr. Labouchere's "cave" rapidly shrank, till it was reduced to two only, Mr. Labouchere himself and Mr. Storey.

The agitation against the Lords was killed by the downright satire and ridiculousness of the situation. At the moment that the cry "Down with the Lords" was swelling into volume, a peer was made Prime Minister; five other peers were given high office in his cabinet, and Mr. Gladstone's last tribute to two of his most devoted friends was to raise them to the House of Lords. The Radicals could not go to the country with the battle cry of "Down with the Lords—three cheers for Lord Rosebery." The agitation was snuffed out amid Homeric laughter. Even the long planned and carefully organized demonstration of the trades unions in Hyde Park against the Lords, on March 17, fell very flat, and was a distinct failure. Mr. Labouchere, it is true, had his revenge on March 13, when, by adroit management and surprise, he defeated the Government on his amendment to the address condemning the Lords. He put ministers in a most absurd position, and forced them to adopt the unprecedented course of negativing the address to the Crown which they had themselves drawn up and proposed, and of then proposing an entirely new address in a novel form. But the defeat was more a matter of bad whipping on the ministerial side than a genuine test of strength. It afforded much entertainment to the Opposition and infinite amusement to its tricksy author. But that was all.

What, then, are the chances of the future? Many expect an early dissolution, possibly in June. Sir William Harcourt's budget at first sight is a clever one. He had a deficit of £4,500,000 ($22,500,000) to face. The British budget this year caps the climax of all previous budgets. It reaches the enormous total of

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£102,700,000, and this under a ministry pledged to economy. Sir William Harcourt meets his deficit first by juggling with the Suez Canal profits and the naval defence sinking fund, and, second, by extra taxation. He equalizes the death duties upon real and personal property and increases them in proportion to the fortune inherited. He places an extra penny upon the Income Tax, but makes some acceptable remission for smaller incomes. He puts an extra sixpence duty per gallon upon spirits and per barrel upon beer. He fears that graduated death duties will press very heavily, and in some cases ruinously, upon landed properties. But the increased spirit and beer duties will be the most troublesome, and perhaps critical, for the government. Mr. Gladstone in 1883 was defeated on a similar tax. If the government carry their budget they will press forward their Registration bill. The main features of this bill are the abolition of all plural voting, and the shortening of the residential term of qualification from twelve months to three months. The first change will, of course, tell against the wealthy and leisured classes, who are now all Conservative. At present a man who has different property, for which he pays rates in several constituencies, may have a vote for each. Thus a merchant in the city of London has a vote there in virtue of his business offices. He also has a vote for his residence, which may be in the West End or in a suburb of the metropolis. The second will put a large number of the poorest, least settled, and most migratory class upon the electoral register; and these are naturally Radicals. If the House of Lords reject this Registration bill, the Radical wire-pullers will again try to raise a cry against the Upper House, and will hope thereby to divert the attention of the electors from Home Rule. Probably the Radicals will postpone the elections till after the Derby, which is early in June, because they calculate that, if Lord Rosebery wins that great race, many electors will be led "to back his luck" by giving him their votes.

The contest will be very severe, and to prophesy is most dangerous. The probability now is that the Unionist party will gain some seats in England and possibly four or five in Scotland. Ireland will remain about as it is—eighty Nationalists to twenty-three Unionists. The present Radical majority in the House of Commons is only thirty-five; a loss of eighteen seats would destroy it. The results of seven bye-elections have lately become known,

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four in Scotland, two in England, and one in Wales, and they are distinctly encouraging to the Unionist cause. The bye-elections have already falsified Lord Rosebery's statement that the majority against Home Rule is "a reducing majority." Seven elections have been taken since March 1st. The result has been to show a reduction of the Separatist majorities of 1892 by no less than 38 per cent. If the same results happen at the General Election, not only will the Separatists be in a far greater minority than they are at present in England, but they will be also in a minority in the Imperial Parliament. Accordingly Home Rule seems likely to be hung up till the Greek Kalends. Even in Scotland, where ministers have put forth their utmost endeavors, and where Lord Rosebery and Mr. Asquith both undertook personal electioneering work, the Radical majorities of 1892 have been appreciably pulled down. The Unionist gain of 1,522 votes on Radical majorities, amounting to 2,756, or about 40 per cent., certainly cannot be described as a "reducing Unionist majority." The election in Wales is still more satisfactory. In that stronghold of Radicalism and disestablishmentarianism the Separatist majority was reduced from 815 to 225—a reduction of over 70 per cent. Adding the total reduction in the seven constituencies together, the result is that we get a diminution of the Separatist majority by over 38 per cent. This is certainly highly satisfactory and gratifying to the Unionist party.

Month by month the dangerous influence of the Home Rule policy is being more widely and more plainly felt in the United Kingdom. The principle of separation, or autonomy, once adopted is operating as actively and as perilously as in Austria, if not as in Turkey. The Home Rule serpent is for the moment scotched for Ireland, but the fatal virus is working throughout the whole body politic.

Everywhere the ministerial programme is antagonistic to England and the English race. There is a Conservative and Unionist majority of seventy-one members in England proper. Therefore the government policy is persistently hostile to English predominance. The Separatist and Radical fads and prejudices of Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen are humored and favored in every possible way, but no English need apply.

Every day a fresh proposal for the injury and ruin of some great national institution or to wreck some great English interest

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is laid by the Ministry before Parliament. Their bill for the disestablishment and plunder of the church in Wales caps the climax of their unjust and Anarchical programme. Without the slightest excuse except the selfish aim of holding the votes of twenty-eight Welsh Radical members, the ministry propose to uproot and to rob the most ancient portion of the church in this country, and to give a stimulus to separation and plunder all over the United Kingdom. By this attack upon the church in Wales the parallels are opened for an early onslaught upon the church in England. Indeed, the Church of England is already and directly attacked. A whole English county, Monmouthshire, which has never been in Wales, and which is entirely English in language and preponderatingly English in blood, is to be filched from England and deprived of its church, in order to gratify Welsh disestablishers. The Scotch are to have a separate Scotch grand committee for Scotch affairs, in order that the Government may increase their normal parliamentary majority from 5 per cent. to over a 100 per cent. on that committee. Ireland and Wales are to have similar separate grand committees granted to them, but England, the chief and central country, the heart and core of the greatness of the United Kingdom, and of the whole Empire, is refused this privilege. There is to be no separate grand committee for England. English affairs and English interests are still to be dominated and controlled in Parliament by Scotch and Welsh and Irish Radicals; while Irish, Welsh, and Scotch affairs are to be practically freed from English interference. By their so-called Registration Bill, the Government deal a further blow at English influence and English rights. The Irish Nationalists have twenty-three seats in Parliament, more than they are entitled to, even by population. The Welsh Radicals have three more seats than their fair share. These twenty-six seats should certainly go to England, which is under-represented, whether judged by population or by wealth or by taxation. The Government refuse to take any steps to redress, in favor of England, this gross inequality of representation. Quite the reverse: they propose to shorten the residential period of qualification, so as to give predominance to the shifting, the least substantial, the migratory section of the population over the stable, the domestic, and the industrious electors. By their Evicted Tenants' Bill the Government propose to give

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£100,000 of the nation's money to relieve the lawbreakers and dishonest conspirators who founded and who followed the plan of campaign to help the foolish and lawless men who, Mr. Dillon said "could pay, but would not pay because he told them not to pay"; and to rescue Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. John Dillon, from the unpopularity in Ireland into which they have deservedly fallen, at least £100,000 of National money is to be squandered.

The final decision, as Lord Rosebery sees clearly enough, rests with England and the English electors. The Radicals are now making every conceivable effort to divert the attention of the country from Home Rule. If the Unionist party can concentrate the attention of Great Britain, that is of England and Scotland, upon the issue of Home Rule, the victory must be with the Union. If, on the other hand, Lord Rosebery and the Radical wire-pullers succeed in confusing the issue, in diverting the attention of the electors to other questions, labor, registration, disestablishment, etc., and, above all, if they succeed in making the English people believe that there is no real danger of Home Rule, then Lord Rosebery may triumph. This is the key of the position—whether the electors vote, at the next general election, upon Home Rule or upon side and minor issues.

The main battle cry of the Unionist party at the coming election will be, first, "The Union"; and, second, "An appeal to the national pride and honor of the English people." The English people have been for so long a period so great and strong, so world-compelling and imperial, that they have almost lost their sense of nationality. The onslaughts that are now being made upon English greatness and English ascendency by the Radicals and Separatists are, however, at last reviving English sentiment. If the Unionist party can thoroughly inspire and arouse the national spirit of England, Lord Rosebery and his heterogeneous following will be swept away like chaff.

ELLIS ASHMEAD-BARTLETT.

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THE NEW YORK STATE UNIVERSITY.

BY WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, A REGENT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

OUR great Chancellor, George William Curtis, said once, in regard to the curiously widespread ignorance about this old institution, that: "If it were the fault of the University, it was obviously a fault of modesty. If it were merely the ignorance of citizens of New York who ought to know better, it illustrated the imperative necessity of immediate higher education." I shall not be considered as sinning against modesty, if I try to do something to enlighten this ignorance; because I am so recent a Regent that I can claim no share in the historic honour and success of the University; and I am perhaps better qualified to deal with the subject than others who are far more able, because, as a resident Regent in Albany, I am very familiar with the amount and kind of work which goes on, in and from the office. An opportunity is offered, and the occasion seems to me to be presented, for doing this, by an unusual occurrence. The report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Legislature of the State of New York is just published. Of its fifty-nine pages, fifteen are devoted more or less to criticism of the University; and copies of it, distributed broadcast, have the pages which contain this criticism, in many instances at least, marked with very big arrows, or very double lines, in very deep blue, drawn with a very blunt pencil, to make them more evident and emphatic. Plainly, the writer thinks this the most impressive and the most important subject with which the report deals. It is a little curious that when Halleck attacked the Regents seventy years ago, his verses are described by Chancellor Curtis as "winging one of the Croaker's airy shafts of satire." There is a slight difference in the name of the author, and not much similarity in the method, for the shafts of this present attack are neither *airy* nor *satirical*, but

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heavy and savage. I have no wish to break in upon the policy of the Regents, which has been that of silence in regard to various attacks made on them from time to time by newspaper correspondents and others; and I do not, of course, commit the University either to the wisdom or the manner of dealing with this particular case. But I desire to present to the intelligent people of the State the actual facts of the situation, first disposing of the Report itself in the fewest possible words.

Large as is the title of the Department of Public Instruction, it has been heretofore held and handled as meaning, what it really does mean by the law of its creation, the office which superintends *the elementary schools* as distinguished from that which, in the language of the law, has charge of "all education in advance of common elementary branches." The present incumbent of the office is evidently disposed to stretch the title to the farthest reach of its broad language, as compelling him to superintend *all* the Public Instruction in the State, including the University. The occupant of this position, elected to it by whatever political party may have the majority of votes in the election year, is, *ex-officio*, a Regent of the University. I am sorry to say that, unlike his predecessor, but like some of his other official colleagues in the Board, Mr. Crooker never attends its meetings. Perhaps he would be wiser if he did. Perhaps his official recognition of the Regents would be less grudging and more generous if, as an *ex-officio* member, he were more familiar with the workings of the University. Certain it is that the officers of the University always welcome the most careful examination and the most thorough criticism, if it be intelligent, of the work they have to do, and of the way in which they do it. Even if Mr. Crooker had any sufficient knowledge of the University, there would be a certain unseemliness in his attitude towards it. Sharing, with the Regents, the responsibility for the education of the children of the State, it would be more natural that he should not array himself against his comrades in this important work.

The gist of the Superintendent's Report is a recommendation to the Legislature, *in its wisdom*, to adopt measures to change the "dual system" into a "single-headed responsible management of all educational interests," by which he thinks a great deal of expense could be spared the treasury. I am quite disposed to think that if the Legislature acts *in its wisdom* upon this sug-

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gestion, it will not be according to Mr. Crocker's views as to what the "single-headed responsible management" shall be: for when the people of New York get a little further on, into the conviction that the only right relation between politics and education is to educate politicians, and not to politicalize education, they will no doubt feel that it is far better to remove from the frequency and uncertainty of party elections the headship of its Common Schools. And that can best be done by remanding *all* the educational work of the State to the Regents; who are a non-political body, with whose appointment politics have very little to do; who have no political debts to pay and no party interests to subserve; who differ greatly as to personal relations to parties; who are in office as citizens, and not as politicians; and who, being in office, stay there until they die. Politics are thus absolutely neutralized by the opposing personal, political views; and the temptation to please any particular party from the desire to retain office is entirely removed. The Regents desire neither to criticise, to control, nor to intrude into the other Department of Public Instruction; but, if the "*dual* headship" is to become a "*duel* headship," a change may become advisable.

It is a curious and interesting commentary on the facts of the present method of providing teachers for the elementary schools of the State, that the school commissioners license over five-sixths of the entire teaching force; and, while in many cases these officers are competent, in many districts they are absolutely incompetent; and probably will remain so as long as education is administered on political lines. One hundred and fifteen thousand dollars are annually appropriated from the State for the support of these officers. The Regents of the University apportion only $106,000 to the Academies and High-schools, on official tests, with every safeguard about them against fraud; and these Academies and High-schools today, as for more than a century, furnish most of the teachers for the elementary schools. It is another curious fact that the expenditure for Normal schools from the general fund and free school fund, according to the Superintendent's report of 1892, was $349,902.99. And yet in 1893 only 3,037 normal graduates are reported as employed in the New York State elementary schools; while the High-schools and Academies, to which the Regents give just *one-third* of the above amount, furnish *five times* as many teachers.

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In considering the statistics on which Mr. Crooker bases his proposition this may be said: The amount of money appropriated by the State Legislature in 1894 for elementary instruction was $5,084,184. The annual appropriation which the Regents apportion as State aid to higher schools is $106,000. If this small sum were added to the other amount it would increase the salary of each of the 32,000 teachers in the elementary schools by $3 a year, or just one cent for each day, not counting Sundays and holidays. It sounds a little like the rich man taking the poor man's one ewe lamb, to propose to swell the enormous appropriation by this most insignificant addition.

Let me call attention—because I presume that Mr. Crooker does not mean to abolish his own office and himself, but to swallow up the University, Regents and all, into himself and his office—to the story, the character, and the work of the University of the State of New York. Much as I regret the occasion, I am not sorry of the opportunity; because this is only a culmination of the series of attacks (of which this last is made more manly, however much it may be mistaken, because it is signed) to which the University has been recently subjected, by those whose interest it seems to be to belittle or berate it: or by those who write in the loose way which ignorant people use, who mistake prejudices for principles, and their own impressions for facts.

The system of public education in the State of New York is somewhat peculiar. The founder of the system was the first governor, George Clinton, who, at the close of the revolutionary war, finding everything at loose ends, called the attention of the Legislature to the necessity of some prompt action. This resulted in the incorporation of a very *large* Board of Regents, who had charge of a very *small* classical school. That school was King's College, which has now grown to the splendid dimensions of Columbia College, still under the Regents, who have grown proportionately small in number, with largely increased duties, responsibilities, and powers. This was in 1784. The University of the State of New York is therefore 110 years old. In 1787, at the request of the Regents, the law of their incorporation was revised, and the changes in that revision, which is virtually its present charter, and which controlled its form, came evidently from Alexander Hamilton, himself a Regent, and at that time an

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Assemblyman and a member of the Committee of Revision. Very much enlarged in the extent of its work, the institution remains essentially the same as the charter of 1787 made it.. Its objects, as defined in the present act of incorporation, are :

"To encourage and promote higher education, to visit and inspect the several institutions and departments, to distribute to or expend or administer for them such property and funds as the State may appropriate therefor or as the University may own or hold in trust or otherwise, and to perform such other duties as may be intrusted to it."

And the statute defines this higher education to mean all "education in advance of common elementary branches, which includes the work of academies, colleges, universities, professional and technical schools, and educational work connected with libraries, museums, university extension courses, and similar agencies." The "other duties" which have been assigned to it from time to time are : the charge of the State Library and Museum, and the care of examinations, not only those for which they confer degrees or licenses themselves, but of examinations in all the academies of the University, and for entrance to the colleges and professional and technical schools of the State. Beside this it has the care of all libraries owned by the State, and the right and duty to issue all charters or provisional charters to any incorporated educational institution from Kindergarten to University. It will not be forgotten that the care of all the State's educational interests was originally vested in the Regents, the office of Superintendent dating only from 1854, so that if the "single headed" administration should be adopted, by the wisdom of the Legislature, it would be a return to the original plan. I doubt whether much expense would be saved by the operation. There would still have to be two independent Superintendents of the two Departments of Higher and Elementary Education and the staff of employees could hardly be lessened, except that perhaps a single treasurer might suffice. The gain would be in a permanent, unpolitical, non-partisan, uniform administration, instead of a changing, personal, political administration by an individual chosen every three years. And the individual would be selected by, and subject to the permanent Regents of the University ; purely educational qualifications, without any regard to party, being the ground of his selection.

The organization most closely resembling the Regents is the University of France, as organized by the first Napoleon, March

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17, 1808, twenty-four years after that of the State of New York, and clearly modelled on it. The decree of Napoleon the First confided public education throughout the empire exclusively to the University of France. The wisdom of Napoleon in adopting the reorganization of the University of the State of New York as his model is shown by the fact, that Republican France still adheres to a corresponding "single-headed, responsible management of all state educational interests."

The University has gone on increasing its work, year by year. The Regents themselves, bound by oath to the faithful discharge of their duties, receive no salaries and have no perquisites. Most of them have been familiar for years with the detail of their duties, and come with great regularity to the meetings, whose affairs, I undertake to say, are administered by them with the most intelligent and unselfish interest. As the youngest but two of the Regents, I may say this without any personality. I am bound to add that in my own knowledge of public bodies and of public servants, it is most unusual to hear an unsalaried public board criticised for enlarging the extent, and improving the character of its unpaid service. Chancellor Curtis, in his memorable address before the University Convocation in July, 1890, used these words:

"Notwithstanding the dignity of its origin, the character of its Regents, and the constantly increasing importance of its service, the University has long been and still is singularly unknown to the great multitude of our fellow-citizens. The popular idea of a Regent, fifty years ago, was that of a venerable figure, either bald or gray headed, of irreproachable respectability and inexpressible pomp of manner, whose tottering steps were aided by a gold-headed cane, whose mysterious office was uncomprehended, if not incomprehensible, and whose aspect altogether might suggest a fossilized functionary of the palæozoic period."

The personnel of the Board to-day—whose oldest members are: Dr. Upson, Mr. Martin I. Townsend, Mr. W. L. Bostwick, Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, Mr. Charles E. Fitch, Dr. O. H. Warren, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, Dr. W. H. Watson, Mr. Henry E. Turner, and Mr. St. Clair McKelway—hardly comes up to this imaginary portraiture.

And I can do no better than quote from that same address Chancellor Curtis's definition of the kind and variety of work for which they are held responsible—

"While the original powers of the University were great, the satisfaction of the State with the service of the Regents is shown by the enlarge-

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ment of those powers. In 1846 they were made trustees of the State Library and certain local law libraries. The next year they were created trustees of the State Museum of Natural History. They are authorized, at their discretion, to confer the highest honorary degrees, to appoint boards of medical examiners, and, on their recommendation, to confer the degree of M. D. They hold examinations and grant certificates preliminary to legal studies, and in all the academies they hold examinations which determine the standards of academic instruction in New York. They are custodians of the historical documents of the State, and of certain legislative documents. They maintain a duplicate department of documents, and conduct the publication and distribution of State works of the highest scientific character, and they have charge of the investigation of the condition of the State boundaries and of restoring the monuments along the lines. Finally, after more than a century, the Legislature of 1889 attested the confidence of the State in the discretion and fidelity of the Regents by the passing of an act defining the purpose, powers, and organization of the University, incorporating with it as substantial parts the State Library and Museum, and still further confirming and enlarging its scope and authority. From all the institutions subject to their visitation the Regents may require an annual report under oath, and for sufficient cause they may alter, amend, or repeal the charter of any institution of the University—that is to say, of any incorporated college, university, academy, school, library, or museum in the State of New York."

In the extent and thoroughness of their system of examinations and inspection, and in their ability to expose and stop all the fraudulent pretences of unprincipled teachers, of unreal institutions, and of bogus degrees, they have undoubtedly protected the fair name of the higher education of the State of New York, and steadily lifted the standard of good learning.

Some data will show the expense of labor by which this has been brought about and the estimate in which the University is held where its work is known. Out of the 421 schools which are connected with the University, 393 take the Regents' examinations, which are entirely without expense to the schools. This is an increase of 29 per cent. in four years. It will give some little idea of the work which it involves, when I say that these examinations are held in 68 subjects, and that it required the examination of 302,471 papers last year, of which 185,677 were claimed by the schools, 165,676 allowed by the University, and 20,001 rejected. In 1893 academic diplomas and certificates were granted to 4,407 persons, which again is an increase in four years of 201 per cent. The work of the University has grown in five years in some of the divisions at least 500 per cent. The record book shows last year the writing of 32, 148 letters. Having spread

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from one department, which it originally contained, to six departments,—the Regents' office proper, the department of examinations, of extension, of public libraries, of the State Library, and of the State Museum,—the duties of the University have proportionately increased. And that they are well done is indicated by the fact that at the World's Fair, not only were 70 awards issued to the educational exhibit, but there were seven distinct awards to the exhibits of the Regents' office; six to the examination department, three to the extension department, six to the State Library, five to the State Library School, two to the State Museum. And the first collective award reads, "To the University of the State of New York, for excellence and comprehensiveness in the exhibit of the five great departments—executive, examination, extension, library, and museum."

It is a mere play on words, a pure pandering to popular prejudice, an absolute appeal to class jealousies, to array as antagonistic the higher against the elementary education of the State; no matter why, or by whom, it is done. The begrudging of money, or the refusal of appropriations, to academic work, under the pretence that more money is needed for elementary schools, is as wise as it would be to prohibit the purchase of meat in a household, because the children of the family needed milk. In a well-to-do and well-ordered household, *both* will be provided. And New York *is* well enough to-do. If it is well ordered, it will increase its capacity for elementary education, *and* do what is needed to maintain its High-schools and Academies. It must be remembered in discussing this subject that money will not make schools; that something is needed beside bricks and mortar. What is needed for good elementary schools is the training of good teachers. And the mutual and complementary relation between the Common School and the Academy is that the one furnishes the pupils and the other the teachers of the State.

WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE.

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THE MENACE OF "COXEYISM."

I.—SIGNIFICANCE AND AIMS OF THE MOVEMENT.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL O. O. HOWARD.

WHATEVER be the cause or causes, a financial depression has come upon our country and still exists. Gigantic efforts and sacrifices on the part of capitalists, bankers, and other business men could not avert the day of its coming or prevent its long continuance. Our wisest thinkers impute the sad situation to a want of mutual confidence between the holders, the depositors, and the users of capital and all others who make up our financial life. The want of confidence, they for the most part assert, comes from political causes, particularly from legislation, or the want of legislation. In spite of charitable provisions for the unemployed, in spite of the construction of sewers, roads, streets, and other public works by cities and villages, in spite of all direct and indirect municipal and State aid, the depression is still upon us. Capitalists are crippled in their enterprises and wage-earners are discharged or reduced in their wages.

The latest phase of the struggle on the part of some of the people to recover their usual economic equilibrium is this "Coxey movement." It is unique in its inception, different from any other in the history of our country, and, indeed, quite unlike ordinary revolutionary experiments. The attempt to affect United States legislation by organizing the unemployed into peaceful hosts and marching them, without previous furnishing of supplies, by the precarious means of begging their way for hundreds of miles, to the Capital appears to ordinary minds the height of absurdity. Yet notwithstanding an almost unanimous press against their contemplated expedition, notwithstanding the discouragement by members of

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Congress with hardly a dissenting voice, and all legal checks put upon them by State and United States executive power, Coxey's first contingent is already in Washington, Kelly's from San Francisco at Des Moines, Ia.; Frye's, organized in Los Angeles, Cal., is in Pennsylvania; the Rhode Island body, calling itself a delegation of unemployed workmen, has passed New York; and many other companies under different designations are organizing, or have already accomplished miles en route.

I.—IDEA OF THE ORGANIZATION.

The idea of the organization of a "Commonweal Army originated in the mind of one man, living in Massillon, Ohio, Jacob Slecher Coxey. Mr. Coxey had no special prominence before this time. His scheme, new enough and surprising, first brought his name before the public. He took the side of the unemployed and all unfortunates in his harangues; and he called himself one of them. His sincerity has been questioned because he is the owner of a large property in horses, and also possesses a stone quarry, and evidently is not in want. His private means were precisely what was needed to make a start, and he has certainly re-enforced his scheme by liberal contributions. He professes himself in politics a Populist, and is reputed in religion to be a Theosophist.

It is difficult to judge of the motives of men. The desire for notoriety, doubtless, enters largely. Yet Coxey's ideas are not inconsistent with sincerity on his part, because the notion that those who occupy the seats of power can issue fiat money is, as I understand it, the doctrine of a large number of our citizens. With this political doctrine and an Oriental anti-Christian faith in a man's heart, it is not illogical for him to call upon the government officials to relieve immediate want by public works and public money. Perhaps it required all the folly of this Coxey demonstration to emphasize the fact that representatives can never be self-constituted, and that they must be restricted by the will of those they represent.

The New York *Tribune*, in an editorial of date May 7, condenses this thought, which I strongly indorse:

"In spirit and in morals, if not yet in law, it is the highest of crimes for any mob in this country to assume to be 'the people.' As it is high treason in a monarchy to assume the power or the titles of the sovereign, so, in this free country, it is an attempt to usurp the sovereignty when any body of

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men, acting outside of the modes provided for expression of the people's will, pretends that it must be respected and obeyed as the people."

II.—THE DIFFERENT CONTINGENTS.

It may be well to consider the different contingents more in detail. As soon as the report of the idea of a march on Washington was spread abroad through the press, and the news published that Coxey's army was actually *en route,* kindred spirits of the restless, adventurous, and irresponsible were assembled under leaders of their own choosing. Some of them are Socialists, and some have Anarchistic tendencies. Doubtless there are worthy men among them who have been thrown out of employment and who under the pinchings of poverty have not known which way to turn for relief. There are also numbers of very young men who have escaped from home control and enjoy any sort of exciting adventure, even though it may involve privation and hardship. The enrolled armies number from fifty to a few hundred each. Their leaders appear to have been elected; and they are denominated generals, and in fact "the Commonweal" and the Industrials have assimilated military nomenclature throughout. Every official has come to his position by the votes of those who serve under him.

The first contingent organized, next after Coxey's division in Ohio, was Frye's. His constitution was adopted at Los Angeles, Cal., March 5, 1894. In the preamble to his constitution he sets forth his followers' causes for complaint: First, in the form of epigrammatic statements, viz.:

"the evils of murderous competition; the supplanting of manual labor by machinery; the excessive Mongolian and pauper immigration; the curse of alien landlordism; the exploitation, by rent, profit, and interest, of the products of toil—have centralized the wealth of the nation into the hands of the few and placed the masses in a state of hopeless destitution.

Second, by questions:

(a) "Why is it those who produce food are hungry?"
(b) "Why is it those who make clothes are ragged?"
(c) "Why is it those who build palaces are houseless?"
(d) "Why is it those who do the nation's work are forced to choose between beggary, crime, or suicide in a nation that has fertile soil enough to produce plenty to feed and clothe the world; material enough to build palaces to house them all; and productive capacity through labor-saving machinery of 40,000 million man-power and only sixty-five million souls to feed, clothe, and shelter?"

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The purpose of the movement is then expressed, recognizing the fact that

"if we wish to escape the doom of the past civilization something must be done and done quickly. Therefore we, as patriotic American citizens, have organized ourselves into an Industrial Army for the purpose of centralizing all the unemployed American citizens at the seat of government (Washington, D. C.) and tender our services to feed, clothe, and shelter the nation's needy, and to accomplish this end we make the following demand on the government:

"1st. Government employment for all her unemployed citizens."

"2nd. The prohibition of foreign immigration for ten years."

"3rd. That no alien be allowed to own real estate in the United States."

It will be noticed that Frye's people make a slightly different demand from Coxey's. Coxey's is substantially under two heads; first, the repeal by Congress of all interest-bearing bonds and the issuance of $500,000,000 in irredeemable paper money; Congress to vest in municipalities the power to issue to the United States government non-interest bearing bonds, these bonds to be repaid at the rate of four per cent. per annum; second, the revenue so authorized and raised is to be expended in the improvement and construction of public roads. It is further stated that the entire amount shall be expended at the rate of $20,000,000 per month and under the direction of the Secretary of War.

Kelly's contingent was called together from the unemployed in San Francisco. That city could hardly help furnishing a quota from the rougher element who are ready for any change. Some fifteen hundred joined at once. San Francisco with vivid remembrance of its experience in the days of the Vigilance Committee and in the Kearney sand-lot proceedings, acted prudently and promptly in this Kelly case, to wit: to help the Kelly army at once across the bay to Oakland. The Oakland citizens, under instant stress, succeeded in procuring transportation from their city onward; and Californians sped their way as far as Ogden. Here the first difficulty with the railroads arose. A court decision, however, soon directed the railroad company to return the men to California or take them somehow beyond the court's jurisdiction. The result was that the Union Pacific carried them as far as Omaha. By auxiliaries (women among them) Kelly's men passed across the Missouri. At Council Bluffs they were obliged to leave their box-cars. A large number of workmen from the mills and shops of Omaha and vicinity took a holiday

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and seized a Rock Island train for Kelly and his people. Wonderful to tell, Kelly declined to take advantage of this kindness unless he had the formal consent of the railway management. He said that his industrials were determined to break no law. But Kelly's love of law and order appears to be a little spasmodic, for his previous speech as reported, made at the public meeting at Omaha, has these expressive words: "My comrades, we may have trouble before we reach Washington. Some of us may never return. It may be you; it may be me; and I have no doubt it will be some of us." Here he paused a moment. The 2,000 men who surrounded him became still as death. Then he continued: "All revolutions have received a baptism of blood, and I don't expect this one will be an exception to the rule."

The most significant feature of the Omaha and the Council Bluffs sojourn was the indorsement this Industrial Army received from prominent citizens, as well as from thousands of workmen in those cities. A clergyman is reported to have said in the meeting above referred to: "It had given him much pleasure to listen to the clearness, good judgment, and eloquence of the commander of the Industrial Army. The members of that army, he was convinced, were willing to engage in any kind of honorable toil, had they the opportunity." . . . "He was a firm believer in the principle that this was a nation for the people and by the people." "We do not rule; nor will we rule as long as there are packed caucuses and venal legislatures; but when there is justice to all there will be a change." Certainly this address, if correctly reported, borders on revolution quite as much as Coxey's or Frye's, and is encouraging the wrong sort of methods for getting rid of corrupt voting and criminal legislation.

Fitzgerald's contingent which left Providence, R. I., the latter part of April had a similar experience to the Western Industrial forces. They appear to have excited more fear than sympathy as they passed from town to town. Under this fear supplies were given them. Hard marching and cold nights caused many to drop out of the ranks and abandon the enterprise. Still quite a body, fifty men at least, have gone on beyond the Hudson.

Your readers are familiar with the story of the Butte Coxey contingent, five hundred strong, under the command of a man by the name of Hogan. They entered an engine-house of the Northern Pacific Railroad, seized an engine, made up a train of

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six cars, and undertook to move on by rail. The local authorities impeded them, but at last they got away and crossed the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains, reaching the regular line of the Northern Pacific at Logan. With few hindrances Hogan's contingent kept on to Forsythe, Mont., where they were stopped and arrested by United States troops sent out from Fort Keogh. It appears in this case that the United States could act directly upon the request of the Governor of Montana. His request was based not only on the riot and bloodshed which resulted from the combat with the sheriffs, but on the fact that Hogan's men took property from the possession of the Receivers, who were officers of the United States Court.

Eight or ten other contingents from different parts of the country between New York and Seattle, calling themselves companies or divisions of the Industrial Army or the Army of the Commonweal, are to-day marching or bivouacking along the different railroads which intersect our extensive country. There is little variation of allegation of grievance or remedy among them for the ills they suffer.

Mr. Morrison I. Swift, a well-known Socialist, has added a little by the issuance of a petition in behalf of the New England contingent as follows :

"We petition Congress :

"1. To provide farms and factories where the unemployed now and at all times hereafter may be able to apply their labor productively for the sup ply of their own wants.

"2. To take steps to amend the Constitution of the United States so that it shall affirm the right of every one to have work.

"3. To abolish all interest-bearing bonds.

"4. To furnish immediate employment for the unemployed by beginning the construction of good roads on a large scale throughout the country.

"5. To nationalize the railroads, the telegraph, and the mines.

"6. To see that all land not in actual use is thrown open to cultivation by those who are willing to cultivate it.

"7. To establish a commission to investigate the advisability of nationalizing trusts."

The whole movement has little present terror in it. Most men are disposed to laugh at the singularly variegated character of its make-up and at the follies of its votaries. Still the old proverb that "Where there is much smoke there is some fire" will apply here ; and it is worth one's while to pause and consider what it all signifies. It is certainly one symptom of the dreadful

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unrest that is just now, like the effects of a fever, afflicting and weakening our whole people.

III.—SOME COMPARISONS WITH HISTORIC EVENTS.

We read in the history of King Saul how little by little he and his subjects departed from right ways; and how David, whom Samuel had already anointed to be king in the place of Saul, was driven out from the royal house; and how he became a wanderer, impoverished to the last degree. In a remote part of the kingdom at the cave of Adullam he made his headquarters;

"and when his brothers and all his father's house heard of it, they went down to him thither. And there gathered themselves unto him, every one that was in distress; and every one that had a creditor, and every one that had an embittered spirit; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men."

That singular gathering Saul and all those loyal to him were at first disposed to treat with contempt. Their conduct and their composition justified his feeling and his action, but notwithstanding the apparent craziness of David's conduct and that of his followers, they were eventually the conquerors of the enemies of Israel, and the subjugators of the whole house and following of the great King Saul himself. This instance has some points of similarity to our Commonweal contingents. It may make all thoughtful people carefully study and weigh the causes of the great disturbances, of which this marching on Washington is but a symptom; *i. e.*, if we as a people, as a nation, have been wandering away from those principles which God approves, it is high time for us to find out our errors, both in the laws and in their execution, and speedily correct them. Something has disturbed quite generally that confidence which is essential to a healthful business life. That confidence must be restored, and the sooner the better.

On the eve of the French Revolution there was a singular movement. It was of "Five hundred and seventeen men, with captains of fifteen and tens well armed all; with musket on shoulder; sabre on thigh; nay, they drive three pieces of cannon; for who knows what obstacles may occur?" At the call from Paris of Barbaroux, one of the ablest conspirators against the rule of Louis XVI., in the city of Marseilles assembled these men (July 5th, 1792). Their watchword was: "March, strike down the

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tyrant!" It appears that the marching host was really made up for the most part of householders and men well-to-do who, in the language of Barbaroux, "knew how to die." They were, it is true, accused by their enemies of being idlers, brigands, and convicts. Their conduct *en route*, however, in no way justified the accusation. On arrival at Paris we have this remarkable speech from these Marseillais:

"We have come numbering five hundred to free ourselves from the oath which Marseilles has taken to fight for liberty; but liberty is not the cause of the king. When we go to shed our blood it is of importance to us to know whether we shed that blood for Louis XVI. or for our country. We ask you legislators to provide for our subsistence!"

The result of the coming of these men to Paris with their inspiring song of "*Marchons, Marchons,*" is well known. They made the revolution an actuality. They struck the blow against the Swiss Guard, and became the nucleus around which all active revolutionists gathered. The king fled to the Assembly for protection against these men who were so desperately in earnest. Their march and their song have entered into history as an inspiration to all lovers of liberty, and especially to French patriots. At first it was hoped by Barbaroux and by the Marseillais themselves that no bloodshed would result from their coming, though they came armed and equipped for battle. The contrast between this movement of the Marseillais and that of the several Industrial armies now on the way to Washington is very marked. First: Our country already has the constitutional liberty for which the Marseillais were contending; for, all France just then was (as ours is not) in bitter anarchy. Second: They were actually organized for war and performed this purpose of their organization and their declaration. The only similarity between the one and the other is *in their marching toward their Capital.* Theirs was a menace to the existing government, this of Coxey is ostensibly a series of petitions to our representatives for benevolent legislation. There is no possible similarity between those Industrial forces claiming legislation for "the Commonweal" and the assembling of Cromwell's men in the English uprising; and there is a less likeness to the early movements of the American Revolution. During the latter days of the Roman Empire, it is noticeable that the Roman government was on the decline, and ready to fall, when it under-

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took by public acts to feed the soliciting masses of the people directly and indirectly from the public granaries.

IV.—THE BEST METHODS OF RELIEF.

As an executive officer it would be an assumption on my part to urge much with regard to legislation; yet as a citizen, I will venture to say that our Congress will very soon make such provision of law as will bring back the usual confidence. As soon as financial methods, however criticised, are settled by legislative action, our people, business men, professional men and all, will conform to the laws; and step by step confidence and prosperity will be restored, for we are as a whole a law-abiding people. This legislation is undoubtedly *the thing* that is necessary to beget confidence. It seems furthermore an absolute necessity that the holders of capital and labor should come to a cordial, mutual understanding; and certainly the day is not far distant when there will be a competent tribunal established by our Congress to adjust questions of difference and secure co-operation without resorting to the dangerous and costly methods of strikes and peremptory discharges.

As for the so-called Industrial hosts, it is not difficult to find work already in demand for every one of that rank and file. In 1865 refugees and freedmen, utterly destitute and without employment, fled to the nearest cities eager for food and shelter. In May of that year about 150,000 of them were thus collected, and mostly feeding on rations daily issued to them. Within three months the ration-list was reduced to within 20,000, and before the end of that year but a handful of the aged and decrepit were left to be cared for by the general government. From Washington alone more than ten thousand were sent away to homes found for them, and private employment secured. This was systematically effected by the use of agencies and transportation. If the burden which is already upon the District of Columbia, and thus upon the United States Government, is too great to be borne, such a sifting method as was adopted for white men and black men in 1865 might again be resorted to. But I am strongly hoping that there will be a gradual dissipation as the journals of to-day claim of the crowds gathered here and there, demanding methods that cannot be adopted and legislation that would be at best inadequate and suicidal. Probably so far as the executive

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departments are concerned, the best possible methods have been pursued. They are to do as little as possible. Whenever the law is broken in capturing a train, in violating private or public premises—put on the restraint as strongly and gently as possible! "Coxey-men" and all such hosts thus far readily bend individually to the decision of the courts. This demonstration has rendered the fact clear to them through the intelligent and universal exploiting of the press,—the fact that our government is representative, and that no self-constituted bodies are the representatives of the people, and that on the elections we must all depend for remedying, when it is faulty, the *personnel* of representation.

OLIVER OTIS HOWARD,
Major-General U. S. Army.

II.—CHARACTER AND METHODS OF THE MEN.

BY THOMAS BYRNES, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE NEW YORK POLICE DEPARTMENT.

IT is a peculiarity of Americans to treat any manifestation by cranks as a joke. To the majority of us the feeling of personal liberty is so real that we are disposed to accord to others the right to do about as they please, and we carry this to the point of taking the position of good-natured spectators, watching the antics of those with whom liberty has degenerated into license, with somewhat the same feeling of amusement with which we watch the horse-play of the clown in the circus ring. It would seem as though it were impossible for Americans to believe that men are in earnest who threaten to defy the law, who threaten the government of this country with intimidation, who declare they intend to secure the result they desire, not through the constitutional channel of the ballot-box, but through the influence of the presence of a large body of men near the Congress.

It is apparent that the men who form the "Industrial" armies now marching to Washington are unable to influence legislation in the legitimate way, by securing enough votes to elect their representatives. This is plain, because were they so able, they would at once avail themselves of their political strength. They represent the smallest sort of a minority, and, not content to submit to the majority, they propose to get what they want by intimidating Congress.

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The men who compose these so-called armies are, so far as I can learn, what are ordinarily called tramps. That is, they are men who do not earn and have not earned a living and supported themselves. They have banded together, a menace to the communities in which they were, and they propose to demand that Congress pass certain laws. Their avowed object is to assemble in front of the Capitol in Washington, and there, by their presence and numbers, to so intimidate the Congress of the United States as to force that body to pass certain laws dictated by them. Think of it for a moment: these idle, useless dregs of humanity —too lazy to work, too miserably inefficient to earn a living—intend to "demand" that Congress shall pass laws at their dictation. "Demand," that is the word they use in their so-called proclamations. Two thousand, three thousand, five thousand tramps—whatever their number may be—"demand" when they speak to the government of the greatest country on earth! No wonder the people laugh.

From the paper before me, giving the record of these armies for one day, I find a regiment of United States troops, in the field in Montana, has arrested an army of 650 men. These men mobbed a United States marshal and his deputies, and, seizing a train on the Northern Pacific Railroad, started east. The railroad authorities, in order to avoid a frightful accident, cleared the track for them, sidetracking all other trains. In order to capture them it was necessary to call out a regiment of Federal troops. The work of a great transportation system was upset; passengers travelling and goods being transported under the law were delayed. Property was taken possession of. A United States marshal and his deputies were mobbed and driven off.

Here is the story of what was done as told by the Governor of Montana:

HELENA, Montana, April 25th.

To the President of the United States:

Information reaches me by wire that a band of Coxeyites, fleeing the State with a stolen train, were overtaken at Billings by Deputy United States Marshals, who were trying to serve a writ emanating from the United States Supreme Court. A fight ensued. One deputy marshal was wounded, and the leader of the Coxeyites wounded. Deputy marshals were overpowered and driven off with revolvers and other weapons. The mob then surrounded the deputies, and now hold them prisoners. Train of Coxeyites within a few hours' run of Fort Keogh. Impossible for State militia to overtake them. As Governor of Montana, I hereby request you to have Federal troops

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at Fort Keogh intercept, take into custody, arrest, and hold these Coxeyites, subject to the orders of the United States Court issuing writ referred to. If Coxeyites pass Fort Keogh before orders emanate from you for their apprehension, I request that Federal troops be ordered to overtake them. Promptness required.

G. E. RICKARTS, Governor of Montana.

General Frye's army, 300 strong, being in Terre Haute, Ind., told their leader they were tired of walking. They captured a freight train, informed the engineer they would kill him if he would not take them to Brazil, and he, acting under orders given by the general manager of the road, in the interests of the property, obeyed the order. When the train reached Brazil, Ind., the army left it. The men demand further transportation from the Vandalia road, and threaten, if this be not given, to burn the ties and fences. In other words, here is a band of 300 men, in the midst of a civilized community, enforcing their demands by the destruction of property, confiscating for their own use the property of others. So far these men have not killed any one. Otherwise what is the difference between them and the Free Companions who desolated Europe, or the pirates and the Buccaneers on the Spanish main ?

Josiah Ross, who is described as a business man, is at the head of 500 men in Buffalo, N. Y., and says he will lead 1,000 to Washington. These are his words, describing what he expects to accomplish, and the means :

We will go right up to the Capitol and demand our rights, and we will insist on them in spite of Mr. Cleveland or any one else. If we get there and find that Coxey's army has been prevented from entering Washington, we will join him and help him to get his rights, even if we have to fight for them. We will demand that Congress drop this tariff tinkering, and act on the money question, right away.

"Even if we have to fight." We will "demand that Congress." "Demand that Congress," under threat of physical force, if the "demand" be not granted. If this is not threatened civil war, what is it ?

The Kelly branch of the army, 1,200 in number, is moving through Indiana. A reconciliation between the leaders, Kelly and Speed, has ended the fear the former would be assassinated by some of the men.

For two days Kelly had a body-guard of his friends around him. This, then, is the estimate of the kind of men in this army, as made by their own leaders. They are murderers or

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would-be murderers, Kelly thinks. And these men are tramping on to Washington to "demand" of Congress.

Senator Peffer, of Kansas, and Senator Allen, of Nebraska, have moved resolutions, the first to provide work for these men at government expense; the other welcoming them to Washington.

The hard times in this country during the past year have enormously increased the number of the unemployed. More than this, there has been a spread of socialistic doctrines to an extent that I have never seen before in an equal space of time. Men have preached the theory that the government is bound to support them. Finding that the great majority of the people, who are industrious and self-supporting, will not vote for any such measure, this small minority, which would live, and does live for the most part, on the earnings of others, has resorted to this army movement, and is on its way to demand legislation. It is easily understood that a tramp, to whom all places are alike, would find a pleasurable excitement in such a march. He is supported as he walks, which is all he cares for, and from being the most despised object in the community—the beggar for broken food—he suddenly finds a certain dignity and interest attaching themselves to him when he joins one of these armies.

When there are enough of him, he shows his natural laziness and his contempt for law by seizing on railroad trains and riding in place of walking. To him, the army movement is a vast picnic.

It is claimed the sympathy of the law-abiding and self-supporting population of the States, for the movement, has been shown by the gifts of food and the help afforded. I have read the published accounts carefully, and I have noticed in every case that help, in whatever form, has been given to get the men to move away. The farmers are not to be blamed. They know from bitter experience what it means to have tramps in the neighborhood, they are powerless to defend themselves, and naturally they do anything to get rid of such unwelcome visitors. I would do the same were I in their place. There is a standing order on the Central Pacific Railroad forbidding conductors of freight trains to put off tramps. Why? Simply because there are hundreds of miles of wooden snowsheds on the roads, and when the tramps are put off they set these on fire. It is cheaper to carry them on the

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trains. It was cheaper for the farmers to feed the Coxeyites and haul them along the road than to have them stay. No doubt if the farmers could feed and transport the seventeen-year locusts and the army-worms, they would with pleasure. So they have fed and transported these army-worms.

I think this movement is the most dangerous this country has seen since the Civil War. Our Government rests on the submission of the minority to the will of the majority, and this army movement is nothing more than that the minority of the minority appeals to force and intimidation to secure the legislation it wants. It is an outrage that this army of tramps and socialists, officered by self-constituted "Generals," "Colonels," and the like, should be permitted to march through the States with the avowed intention of intimidating Congress. The movement is illegal, un-American, and a disgrace, and it should have been stopped long ago.

I am told there is no law which may be appealed to. If this be true, the Congress is in session, and a law should be passed at once, making all such movements impossible for the future. The evil this will do is to be found in the spread of the Socialistic doctrine that the majority may be ruled by the minority. This doctrine crops up whenever there is a dispute between employers and employed. The ground is taken that men who have real or supposed grievances are above the law, the law in this country being the expression of the will of the majority of the voters; and that they have a right to act in a way forbidden by law.

If this thing is ever successfully carried out, then the United States will fall into a chaos in which mobs will be fighting mobs everywhere. There is a legal method defined by the Constitution, of securing legislation in Congress, and this is by electing a majority of Congressmen. Any other method of influencing Congress is illegal and should be stopped. Intimidation of Congress by the presence of a body of armed men is Rebellion pure and simple, and should be stamped out just as the great Rebellion was in 1861.

There is a practical side to this army movement. The presence in Washington of 6,000 or 7,000 men who have nothing to do and no means of support, means a very serious problem to the rulers of that city. If these men are deserted by their leaders, then there will probably be blood shed before long. They have been well

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educated along the route, in the disregard of the rights of others, and they will take what they want. No one doubts the issue, no one doubts the government is strong enough to defend itself; but citizens will probably lose their lives and property before it is all over. I notice a supply of arms and ammunition has been sent to the Treasury. What a comment this is on the statement there is no law to prevent this army movement! How foreigners will laugh as they read the record! Arming the Treasury of the United States in order to repel the expected attack of a body of worthless, idle, lazy, miserable tramps! Is the belief a joke that there is necessity for this action?

I have not heard that the Army intends to come to New York city. If the members arrive singly, they will attract no more attention than do the tramps who come for winter quarters. If they arrive as an army and attempt to march in defiance of the law—well, the police of New York have never yet been found unable to maintain and uphold the law in this city, and to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

THOMAS BYRNES.

III.—THE DANGER TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

BY DR. ALVAH H. DOTY, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF CONTAGIOUS DISEASES, NEW YORK BOARD OF HEALTH.

THE recent movement under the leadership of certain hare-brained men, which has resulted in the banding together in different parts of the country of a number of so-called workmen, has been variously ascribed to political and other motives. There is one aspect, however, which has received very little, if any, attention, although it may be productive of serious consequences. I refer to the probability of the different groups of Coxeyites acting as carriers and propagators of contagious disease. Although among these men there may be a few who are genuine workmen and who take part in these novel expeditions believing that the result will be beneficial to those seeking honest employment, and that legislation tending to promote their interest will follow, it is very evident, from a close observation, that the great majority of them would take part in any movement which would insure them plenty of food and drink and protection from work. Those who have come in contact and are familiar with the frequenters

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of cheap lodging-houses in this and other cities would probably recognize a good many familiar faces in the Coxey legion now on foot.

There is no greater or more difficult problem which presents itself to a commander of an army than the necessary means by which his men on march or in camp can be kept well and in a good sanitary condition and free from disease. The strict rules which are made and enforced would, to a layman, seem foolishly exacting. They are, however, often insufficient to preserve the health of the soldiers. The most minute directions are given as to the care of the body—cleanliness, clothing, footwear, water supply, food, and the removal and destruction of refuse matter, the latter being of paramount importance. Any disobedience of these directions is met with severe punishment. If this, in well-drilled men, subject to the severest discipline, does not prevent sickness and disease, what may be expected of a body of men without discipline, and with whom the subject of hygiene and cleanliness is a vague fancy and unworthy of serious consideration? Members of this fraternity rarely remove their clothes, eat what they can get in the most primitive way, drink from any receptacle, and sleep anywhere; they are subject to numerous skin eruptions, generally the result of filth, and also other diseases, which are more or less contagious. These maladies receive no attention and generally persist until nature lends a helping hand; such diseased conditions, although loathsome, are fortunately not fatal. It is the dissemination of the more dangerous diseases, such as small-pox, cholera, typhus and typhoid fever, which seriously affects the public. No richer soil can be found for the propagation of disease than one of the groups above referred to. On entering a town they at once consort with their own class, who are the usual victims of contagious disease, a fact which is strikingly apparent during epidemics, and particularly so during the prevalence of typhus fever and cholera. Among the causes of this, the lack of personal cleanliness plays a very important part.

The exposure necessary to become infected is so brief that a sojourn of a day or even an hour of a visiting body to a locality where contagious disease exists may be sufficient to infect some one of their number; thus supplied with the germ, the propagation follows. The initial symptoms are not recognized, and the one affected, with perhaps an eruption in full bloom, drags along

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with the rest until a convenient town is reached, where he is left to the tender mercies of the place. The disease may remain unrecognized, no precautions taken, and blissful ignorance reign until a crop of cases appear, with its consequent serious result. It is not necessary that a person suffering from one of these maladies should be present; infected clothing is sufficient to scatter the disease. It is, therefore, easy to understand that as a means of increasing contagious diseases throughout the country, Coxeyism is an agent of the most vicious type.

This is not a fancy sketch, but a realism the truth of which will be corroborated by those who deal with diseases of this character. Investigation as to the origin of epidemics, which from time to time occur, gives innumerable records of outbreaks due to the mode of transmission above referred to. For instance, in 1881, during the celebration of the feast of "Kurban Bairam," a band of pilgrims, having about the same discipline and respect for sanitary measures as we would expect to find in Coxey's army, arrived at Mecca. There had been sickness among them during the journey, and a number had died. They were buried and soon forgotten. No investigation as to the cause of death (which subsequently proved to have been due to cholera) was instituted, nor were any precautions taken to prevent the further development of disease. They mixed with the mass of people at Mecca and Jeddah, and but a short time elapsed before cholera appeared among those who had assembled to celebrate the feast. The ravages which followed were frightful; in one day there were over 300 deaths from this cause. From this point of infection cholera was carried to other parts of the world by steamer and other modes of communication. The wanton neglect and absolute disregard on the part of these Mohammedan pilgrims of all measures which would tend to prevent or to limit the disease, and the need of a proper quarantine, have resulted in a concerted action on the part of the different nations, and, at the International Sanitary Conference held in Paris in February and March of the present year, plans were formulated for the enforcement of a quarantine which, if carried out against India, should prevent a future introduction of this disease into Europe.

The importance of this subject is rather forced upon us at this period, as the birth of Coxeyism occurs at the time when the country is visited by smallpox; this disease is apparently epi-

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demic in Chicago and it also prevails in many cities and towns, both in the East and West.

If the reports be true, this un-American and unsanitary movement has been encouraged by the citizens of the different places visited by these men; they have received and fed the Coxeyites and passed them along to the next town, evidently as a matter of policy and as an easy way to get rid of them.

Regarding this subject from a sanitary point of view, and assuming that this movement may be tolerated by the people, what precautions should be taken as a means of public protection? It would seem that the health official of every town or city throughout the country should be clothed with sufficient power to prevent the entrance into their respective places of any assemblage which, in their opinion, is dangerous to the public health, until a rigid inspection can be made regarding the sanitary condition of said assemblage; to remove and quarantine all suspicious cases, and take such other measures as may be deemed necessary. This at once becomes a most important factor in preserving the public health and also in discouraging this fungous growth. The different state boards of health should also coöperate in this matter.

We cannot study this subject without being impressed with the fact that the public is largely responsible for the condition of filth, negligence, and the unsanitary condition of these people. No practical encouragement is given or inducement offered to promote personal cleanliness. We rear magnificent churches, hospitals, and other institutions, but we build no magnificent public baths. The fact that "cleanliness is next to godliness" is apparently lost sight of. It may truthfully be said that there is absolutely no attention given by the public to this important matter, which is the foundation of good hygiene. It is true that in this city we find anchored to certain piers along the river front a few public floating bath-houses, small in size and of the most primitive construction, and as for furnishing bathing facilities for those dependent upon the public for this necessity they are but a drop in the bucket. Their location is unknown beyond the immediate vicinity in which they are placed, the hours for bathing are restricted, the bath-houses can only be reached after a long walk through some of the worst and loneliest parts of the city. What accommodation does it extend to a tired workingman or woman? and

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what inducement does it offer to a lazy tramp to bathe himself? —the latter a most important public consideration.

It seems strange that, while religious and other societies, philanthropists and rich men, are conjuring their brains to find the best method of improving the lowest class, the important necessity of public baths should not occur to them. These should be built on a large scale, with every possible convenience, even to a barber shop, where a tramp could occasionally have his hair cut and face shaved, which luxury he is at present deprived of. The baths should always be opened and made attractive. When this is done there will be fewer Anarchists found and fewer hospitals needed.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

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THE MODERN GIRL.

BY SARAH GRAND, AUTHOR OF "THE HEAVENLY TWINS."

In the present aspect of the Woman Question, the position of the young girl becomes an important as well as an interesting consideration. Only a limited number of people nowadays insist in their finite foolishness that all women indiscriminately should undertake the duties of motherhood. The conviction is gradually gaining ground that many amongst us are not suited for the sacred office. But allowing that marriage is the holiest and most perfect state both for men and women, in what way are our young men and maidens taught to qualify themselves for it? Take the girl first: How is she educated so as to fit her for such an onerous position? The constant effort so far has been to keep her in the most perfect ignorance of everything connected with it, and of the world which she will in turn be expected to educate her children to enter. This state of ignorance in marriageable women used to be called innocence. An innocent, according to the country people, is an idiot; and by a curious coincidence, the husbands of these ladies, in moments of exasperation, call them idiots as often as anything. The absurdity of an education designed for the preservation of their ignorance was one of the first things to strike women as strange in the ordering of their lives when they began to think for themselves. Some of the highest authorities still insist that the arrangement is a wise one; but the highest authorities err sometimes, and are also apt to be wanting in wit. It might have been expected that mothers would try to save their daughters from the cruel position in which the system of silence places them, but as a matter of fact mothers pretty generally evade the responsibility, and leave their daughters to find their own way out of the difficulty as best they can; and this, it appears, is what the modern girl is everywhere endeavoring to do.

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Forced forward by impulses which are strange to herself and new to the race, she is gradually and involuntarily raising herself. But it is a slow and painful process, and how to help her is the question to which many of the large-hearted and thoughtful women of the present time give the most serious and anxious attention. They have their views, as is inevitable, but their object is the unusual one of wishing to arrive at the truth of the matter rather than to prove themselves right; hence the subject is for the moment uppermost, and discussions of it are incessant. In the club and periodicals, at the dinner-table, and on the platform, what girls were, are, will be, and should be is the constant question. It is not, however, usually viewed as a whole, but in little sections, an undue importance being attached to each in succession, because, although women generally are becoming conscious that some great change is taking place in their position, they are as yet unaware of the nature of it, and are consequently apt to settle upon some transient phase as being the change itself instead of merely an indication of change, or a temporary effect of the effervescence which inevitably accompanies it.

Common is confusion of mind, and in the general tangle cause and effect are more often confounded than not. People know that there are Christians of all kinds, yet, when it suits their argument, they will confidently assert that this one is a saint or that one is a sinner, because he is a Christian; and they are not necessarily dishonest people either, only undiscriminating. What they mistake for the outcome of Christianity is merely an effect of temperament. Views are a dish at our intellectual dinner which some of us can assimilate; we digest it and are the better for it, while it disagrees with others and upsets them. It is not the food that is at fault, however, but something wrong with the consumer. So some shriek that "wildness" is an outcome of the noble love of liberty, and others are easily convinced that some of their acquaintances are disagreeable because they approve of the suffrage for women; as if women had never been "wild" or worse before there was any talk of emancipating them, and as if there were something in the suffrage question inconsistent with a pleasing address. Impossible generalizations of this kind recur continually, and just at the present time every daughter is supposed to be having difficulties with her mother, because some daughters are not happy in themselves, or have been unfortunate in their

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parents. That daughters do revolt is true, and that they are in some instances right to do so must also be conceded by those who know the circumstances, but it is evident too that they are often wrong. When they revolt it is best to ask why they have done so; instead of which they are generally told that they mustn't. This has been the mother's method from time immemorial, and the mother's mistake, as she is now finding. All things alter, and the girl alters insensibly with the rest, yet the mother at home remains unaware of the change. She expects her grown-up daughter to be ignorant of everything objectionable upon earth until she marries, but then she may be told anything without other preparation than the marriage service. The English girl may be as much the chattel of her parents nowadays as ever she was, if the parents so choose. They can order her life in its most minute details up to the last moment that she spends beneath their roof, and can then hand her over, and often do, to face disease and death as the chattel of her husband. It is from the horrors of this position that girls have to make their escape, and that not for their own ends only, but for the benefit of the whole human race. The tyrannies of parents may be terrible. Fathers frequently compel their grown-up daughters to lead an idle, useless, and irksome existence in accordance with their own prejudices, and quite irrespective of the girls' abilities, inclinations, and possible necessities, until it is too late for them to make a career for themselves, and their lives are spoilt. Clergy, doctors, and lawyers practising in country places din marriage, and nothing else, into their daughters' ears, although there are no marriageable men in the neighborhood. The latter go elsewhere for work as they grow up, but these parents argue on the old lines, apparently oblivious of the fact, as the beaver that builds its dam with the handle of a broom in a London garret is of the absence of water. But as we advance by degrees it becomes impossible to cramp the lives of mature young women in accordance with ideas that did for an older day, but that are impracticable and apt to be injurious in ours. Intelligence is active, books are plentiful, thought is free, and there are always opportunities for conversation. The girls of a family may be "like dumb driven cattle" until one of them marries, but then what the others become depends very much upon her. If she is able, energetic, and unhappy, she will take good care

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that her sisters know the why and wherefore, and the result of her instruction must of necessity depend upon the kind of person marriage has made her. And besides the married sister, there are always the servants, many of them modest and high-principled women, more delicate minded than their mistresses, but many unfortunately quite the reverse. The young lady's maid who brushes her mistress's hair twice a day has ample opportunities to influence her, and does so only too often with the worst effect. The girl, like the boy, comes to an impressionable age, and is highly sensitive to the fatal fascination of a tabooed subject, and the only sensible way to educate her is to watch for this time, and then instruct her. There are usually indications of it in remarks she makes and questions she asks. It is urged by some mothers that premature knowledge of the world coarsens a girl, and makes her hard and callous. This is quite possible, but the knowledge should not be premature. Those who undertake the education of girls should be able to decide when the right time comes to impart it; otherwise they are not fit for their office. It must be remembered that there are girls who would never get over premature revelations, while there are others with senses so precocious that they seem never to have had an age of innocence, and it is necessary to speak to these at once and plainly. Mothers must discriminate, and not shirk their duty in the matter because it is unpleasant. Girls generally know more of the world they live in than they are allowed to pretend. They learn somehow, as often involuntarily as not. But it is not what she knows that coarsens a girl—it is the way in which the knowledge has been conveyed. A communication made in a giggle by a servant has a very different effect upon character and conduct from the same thing gravely given as a lesson. And when young people are taught the facts of life, they must also be taught what to think about them. Girls brought up on this plan make the most admirable women; it is the haphazard of the other which ends only too often in disaster.

The impulse of the elder married women just now is to keep girls from all knowledge of evil, that it may not grieve them; that of the younger is to enlighten them. This because the latter are in the acute stage of suffering from lost illusions, and they would save others that misery at all events, while the elder women have calmed down, forgotten, become blunted, or lost

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hope. The last oftenest. They cannot believe that the world will ever be any better than it is, and they can think of no other way of serving the girls than by keeping them in ignorance as long as possible.

There was a charm about the old ideal of innocence which men and women of refinement are very loath to lose. If girls could be kept in perfect seclusion, only allowed to read works specially prepared for them, and married when they came to maturity to men worthy of them, then there could be little question that the preservation of what we call their innocence would be as practically right as it is poetically beautiful. But the condition of a girl's life at the present time makes the old ideal almost impossible and quite unsafe. It is almost impossible because in the confusion consequent upon a great effort to set the human household in order, much is exposed which has hitherto been hidden, and the girl can see for herself. Hers is perhaps the most difficult position of all. She may be more intelligent than her mother, and although she may not be so well educated in the true sense of the word, she is pretty certain to have acquired more general information. Her mind is probably a storehouse of disconnected facts, the object having been to cram as many as possible into it without order or arrangement, so that the chances are she cannot lay hold of anything for her guidance just when she wants it. To keep young people in ignorance is to expose them to every risk, and to let them have knowledge without teaching them how to use it is to give them a dangerous machine with which they may injure themselves for life.

The modern girl cannot help knowing that she herself is the subject of much discussion, and unless she is essentially stupid, she must have a fair idea of what a great deal of it is about. When Ellean, the innocent in "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," confesses that she has known or suspected her stepmother's character from the first, one is not surprised. But the ignorance required of a mature young woman is not only impossible, but injurious, to her character, since it is apt to drive her into a hypocritical assumption of it. The difference of opinion on the subject places her between two stools. She would like to answer to every one's expectations, but never knows what to know and what not to know. Her father would have her grow up in absolute ignorance of the world, her

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mother leans also to that ideal, but other people she meets are altogether against it. She is given the Bible, Shakespeare, and the dictionary, and is expected to overlook the objectionable facts of life which they contain and explain. If she does not do so until she is married, it is argued that she is not pure minded. But, besides such sources of information, as she comes to maturity, if she is healthy, she is conscious of inclinations and impulses which alter her whole attitude towards the other sex, and these are in no way checked by absolute silence on the subject. On the contrary, the mystery that is made of it is apt to change her involuntary interest into unwholesome curiosity, and then she will adroitly extract information from her elders unawares by affecting to know more than she does. She feels, thinks, and observes; and thought, feeling, and observation together force her to draw her own conclusions; but whether these will be sound and healthy is now a matter of chance. She may ask questions on any other subject under the sun, but on this one she is left to her natural instincts, although these may betray her into pernicious habits, and often do. She may receive a certain amount of teaching on all serious subjects but that which concerns the very reason of her being. She is expected to have the highest principles in the matter, and yet to know nothing at all about it. For the chief duty of her life she is unprepared. The inconsistencies in the whole education of a girl are both ludicrous and pathetic, and place her in a false if not a dangerous position.

It is no longer possible, even if it were desirable, to protect the modern girl, in the old acceptation of the word. What we are aiming at is to make the world a safe and pleasant place for her to live in, and it is found best to arm her with information that she may know her enemies when she meets them, and be able to protect herself—from herself as well as from her enemies. One is specially sorry for the daughters of rich, idle, and sensual mothers because they are more hoodwinked and imposed upon than girls in any other class. There are hundreds of daughters at the mercy of mothers who have no nobler ambition than to secure a good place in society for them. These girls are most sedulously "protected," that is to say they are deprived of the safeguard of knowledge, and not for any good reason, but merely for vulgar commercial purposes. The less girls know the more easily they are influenced in their choice of husbands. These

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girls are brought up, regardless of character and constitution, exclusively for the marriage market, and are exhibited like fatted fowls whose value depends upon the color and condition of their flesh. The sooner a girl in this set is married, the better her parents are pleased. They have done with the trouble of her then, and do not care much what becomes of her afterwards, so long as she keeps up appearances. These are the girls who are now beginning to revolt in numbers. Until lately only one here and there would strike out admirably for freedom and attain to the Higher Life; but just as often they become courtesans of the clique which openly airs its depravity everywhere, and makes the manners of many of the country houses an offence to the nation. Prudent mothers do not allow their daughters to go alone to these places or mix with this set except under strict surveillance; but prudence is not the rule with society mothers; position and how to secure it is their first consideration, the position which is conferred by mere money and rank. They will sit down with the lowest in the land if only he have a high-sounding title. There is nothing that brutalizes a woman like the struggle for rank, and it is heartbreaking to see how young girls are exposed, forced forward, and sacrificed to further this common and contemptible aim. Mothers of this kind are strong on the subject of what girls should not know. They play into the hands of the kind of men they meet when they play for position, and do their best to further the principal object in life of those men, the care for their own convenience. Girls with a knowledge of the world become extremely fastidious in their choice of husbands, and it is obvious that nothing could be more inconvenient both to men and mothers in a good many cases.

But well-meaning mothers, not yet out of the sycophant stage, are also afraid of what men will say. This is a survival of the days of the degradation of marriage, when it was almost the only career open to a woman as a means of livelihood. Then women had to consider what men required of them, but now they ask why they require it. Men would lose their respect for girls who knew the world, some declare; but we ask why more for girls than for married women, and find in the answer a motive that makes what they call their respect of no consequence. It is also objected that men will turn a girl's knowledge to evil account, which is very probable; but the men who do it are those who

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take advantage of their ignorance for the same purpose. It would be best to save girls from having to deal with animals of this description, but as this is impossible, surely some knowledge of the kind is an absolutely necessary safeguard.

When the mother shows want of sympathy and want of comprehension with regard to the subjects that perplex the daughter, the girl is driven elsewhere with her troubles, and very often chooses an undesirable confidante; and thus it happens that the last person a girl thinks of consulting about any interest of vital importance to herself is her own mother. No honorable person will interfere between parents and children, but how to help an unhappy girl except by doing so is frequently a question. Pressure of public opinion will have its effect in time, but meanwhile much damage is being done, much needless suffering inflicted. There is no doubt, however, that the modern girl has been caught by the rising tide of progress, and will be borne along bravely. If parents are tyrannical, if the girl finds herself one of a houseful of girls doomed to stagnation at home, or with marriage mapped out for her as the only alternative when marriage is distasteful; or if she has any strong bent and finds herself prevented from pursuing it, she surely owes it as a duty to herself to seek advice on the subject, and to revolt if necessary. It is not her parents' prospects that are at stake, but her own, and the happiness of her whole life depends upon the early choice of a career suited to her constitution, taste, and abilities.

The modern girl is growing up, and "more life and fuller" is what she wants. The subject of her capacity is one that it is not possible to generalize upon. The genus girl is comprised of individuals of the most varied powers and opposite inclinations, and in order to do them justice circumstances should be made to suit this variety—circumstances, that is to say, in the way of education and opportunities for putting themselves to the test, and arriving at a proper knowledge of what they can or can not do. The way of the world has been to make a sphere of an invariable size and shape for all girls indiscriminately according to their class. If it does not fit, the girl is held to be at fault, and the educator is expected to alter her, to take her in, like a dress, if necessary rather than to enlarge her little sphere. If possible she is forced into it and kept there; and in one case her spirit will be broken, her development checked, and her chances of

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happiness lost; in another she will outgrow it in spite of herself, but will become distorted in the effort, like cedar-trees dwarfed by Chinese gardeners to grow in flower pots. One meets specimens of this sort of mismanagement every day, the first being a weak and useless women of the kind that brings contempt upon the sex, while the second is only too often an evil influence.

"What are we to do with our girls?" distracted parents ask incessantly. The answer is easy enough. Consider them, respect the needs of their nature, and do not require them to conform to the exigencies of the day before yesterday. Parents who would do their duty by the modern girl should recognize the fact that the average of intelligence is higher in her sex than it used to be, that observation is involuntary, and that silence may conceal thought, but does not stifle it. The reasoning faculty is there, and will work of its own accord, but probably all awry if not carefully directed. There are very few girls who will not strive after an ideal of life if only it is offered to them early. Girls are of a plastic nature. Their inclinations for the most part tend toward refining influences; but influenced they must be, and if there is an absence of that which is noble in the shape into which they are first moulded, then that which is ignoble is apt to take its place. There is no more difficult or delicate task in education than the forming of a young girl's character. If a well-judged touch will on the one hand produce the most beautiful results, so on the other one that is ill-judged will warp and disfigure.

The present difficulty has already resulted both in good and evil. In the first reaction from the old state of things, the chattel-girl is apt to rebel against necessary as well as unnecessary restraint, and the consequence is anything but edifying; but at the same time there are girls growing up among us in all classes who promise to be among the finest specimens of their sex the world has ever seen in any numbers. Now and then individuals of the kind have appeared to show what women might be, but it is only in our day that the type has blossomed out into many representatives. These girls are the product of the higher education which is truly both higher and an education; and happy is the man who secures one of them for a wife.

SARAH GRAND.

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MEXICO UNDER PRESIDENT DIAZ.

BY PRINCE AGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.

In an article published in this Review some months ago, M. Romero, then Mexican Minister of Finance, complained that false news regarding Mexico found easy access to the columns of American journals. His position was justified by the cases to which he referred, and by many others, but the complaint could scarcely have been expected from the representative of a Government that owes its existence, in no small measure, to the misrepresentation of its affairs. For, of the rulers of our times, none has derived greater benefit from the action of a subsidized press than has Mr. Diaz, notwithstanding the fact that he governs one of the countries where there is the steel of a thousand pens in the sabre of a soldier.

When Mr. Diaz came into power his government was supported by internal elements of stability that might have insured comparative peace such as he had not allowed the Republic to enjoy for years; but, to control those elements by the means he devised, Mr. Diaz needed vast sums of money, for which he depended on foreign loans. It became necessary, therefore, to inspire foreign capitalists with confidence in the new order of things. Financial agents were accordingly sent to the money markets of Europe and of the United States, and a very simple plan to control the press was put into practice: numerous journals and periodicals were established at the public expense, to which government employés were compelled to subscribe; whilst the independent press, whether Catholic or anti-Catholic, was muzzled with relentless persecution. The correspondents of foreign press associations were not neglected, and in the United States and Europe the services of leading organs were secured.

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It is through such mediums that foreign readers know of Mexico and its government. An exaggerated idea of that vast and rich field for speculation was created, and American and European capitalists sent stagnant millions there to multiply. They did for Diaz what they did for Juarez Celman, and Juarez Celman did for them what Diaz will have done, for the financial policy of the northern dictator is culminating in a crisis such as his contemporary brought about in the Argentine.

At home Mr. Diaz had some difficulties, not very serious, to overcome. There was our exotic constitution. This consists, in part, of a statement of the "Rights of Man" as they were inspired by the French Revolution; and, in what concerns the political division and government of the Republic, it is, practically, a translation into the Spanish language of the constitution of the United States, while a fair number of its articles are devoted to the Catholic religion.

I cannot exaggerate the evil that has accrued to the Latin republics of America from the frenzy of their radical politicians for blind imitation of the institutions of the United States. Those theorists appear to have overlooked the fact that the true merit of the American Magna Charta consists in that it implies no sudden change from accustomed laws, no abrupt departure from the traditions of the people it is meant to govern, but gives to habit and to necessary innovations the sanction of law. Our liberals of the past generation would have best imitated this constitution, therefore, not by transplanting it into our language, but by giving Mexico a code in keeping with the tradition that bound us through six centuries to New Spain and Anahuac. The Liberator had proposed to do this, but his plan was not realized and, after many calamities, we inherited the one referred to, known as the Constitution of 1857.

In Mexico there had been but little public instruction. For three hundred years it had been governed by the laws of the Spanish Empire and during those centuries the Indians, a large majority of the population, were treated as minors. When independence was secured, thirty years of anarchy followed. It was that people, at that period of its history, whom the radicals proposed to govern by the laws of the most advanced nations. What wonder that those laws should never have been enforced and that there were few who took exception to breaches of the constitu-

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tion for other purposes than to use them as political arms and revolutionary pretexts! Juarez had suppressed the enemies who, like Mr. Diaz and others, continually rose in arms against him in the name of the constitution. His successor, Mr. Lerdo, had, for three years, triumphed over the same foes until he was overthrown by a revolution whereof the military command had been confided to General Diaz by its leader, Mr. Benitez, author of the revolutionary programme. That programme accused Lerdo and his subalterns of many breaches of the laws and promised reforms and constitutional amendments, all of which increased the obstacles between Mr. Diaz and the satisfaction of his ambition.

The presence of Benitez and of Gonzalez was the greatest impediment with which Mr. Diaz had to contend in the realization of his designs; that of the former, because he still loved the liberal principles to which he had devoted a long and brilliant career and was, withal, the soul of the revolution and the most popular civilian in the party. Gonzalez viewed the situation from a different standpoint; he had spent years in adversity with Diaz, had been his constant companion in former unsuccessful attempts to overthrow established governments, and had no less love than his commanding officer for riches and power. He was the most popular general in the army. Those two leaders were the only rivals Mr. Diaz had in the triumphant party.

But there were minor ambitions to satisfy. The civil wars of Spanish America gave rise to a class of men known in Mexico as *la chinaca*; they congregated in bands of greater or less importance according to the renown of their chieftains, who assumed and conferred military titles, frequently recognized by the government in return for services received. In times of war *chinacos* served either or both parties without other considerations than those suggested by personal interest, for the *chinaca* was usually ignorant, undisciplined, having little heed for politics, and seeing in revolution merely an opportunity to thrive. Those nineteenth-century *condottieri* were organized in a species of feudal system; ranches, haciendas, districts, each had its sovereign lord whose allegiance was due to some higher chieftain of the state or region. In many cases leadership among *chinacos* had become hereditary and at times was exercised by chiefs who had abandoned their adventurous career.

As revolutionary leaders had become rare since the fall of the

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Empire—in fact, as they were represented in the field by Mr. Diaz and the officers whose services were pledged to him, he was the only commander-in-chief that *chinacos* had obeyed for years; they were identified with his interests and formed the basis of his power when his government was established. But his policy of fostering conflicting ambitions among *chinacos* would have become a stumbling-block in the hour of his success, had not favorable circumstances intervened.

The parties between which the French intervention found Mexico divided, and which represented principles, had been either paralyzed or transformed. The assassination of Miramon and Mejia left the Catholics without a military leader, and, the conservative elements having been wasted by war and mismanagement, the party was reduced to inactivity. The Liberals had remained in undisputed power, but the composition of their party was an assurance of its division; for while there were Liberals who believed, perhaps, that the destruction of the Church in Mexico (that was their programme) might be conducive to national prosperity, there were many Liberals of high degree whose ideal was neither to destroy Catholicism nor to establish radical principles, but to thrive by the spoliation of the Church or by the bounty of the government. There were others, with less selfish motives, who wished government to be guided by the Liberal theories and to protect the Liberal institutions that so much blood had been shed to enforce upon the country. And, both being disappointed, a faction had been formed that, in the name of Liberalism, kept the Republic in constant disorder. Conservative officers and statesmen, having no other field for action in politics or war than to abet or oppose the revolutions of Diaz, thought they served the country's interests best by giving their decisive support to that general. All but the memory had vanished of the parties in whose struggles, ten years before, the Powers of the old world and the new had intervened; the names, even, had changed, for it was no longer the Imperialists and Republicans, the Catholics and Radicals, the Conservatives and Liberals, but the Juarists or Lerdists defending their power and the Porfirists or Benitists struggling to grasp it. And these two parties contended until one was destroyed.

If, therefore, Diaz had many partisans to disappoint and con-

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sequently lose, he could very easily isolate them by a judicious distribution of his favors. The character of Mexican revolutionists favored this end : their action is essentially local, and they combine their efforts under exceptional circumstances only, and never willingly away from their native regions. On the other hand, all organized resistance had been abandoned after the flight of Lerdo and his cabinet, and the few troops still in the field were successively reduced to obedience, so that discrimination between partisans of subaltern degree involved little more than sentimental importance, though friends of the President claim it implied a task that genius alone could undertake successfully.

But Diaz could not dispose so easily of obligations to his colleagues ; those engagements had been made with men he had not at that time the power to betray. To these, consequently, he gave due participation in the management of affairs, and their friends received proportionate shares of the spoils. In fact, the first administration of Mr. Diaz was conducted according to previous agreements in so far as was practicable. But towards the end of the term, Benitez, the only member of the government in whose integrity and ability the country had faith, was removed. The revolutionary programme provided that the President of the Republic and the Governors of States should not be re-elected to consecutive terms of office, whence it had been stipulated that Benitez should succeed Diaz. But this candidacy collided with the ambition of Gonzalez, whom Diaz always feared. Shortly before the time for the elections, Gonzalez assumed a threatening attitude and, as it was in his power to make a revolution, the President did not hesitate. Benitez found it advisable to depart from Mexican territory, and to Gonzalez was given command of an army with which he marched through the country, placing partisans of his own in the public offices occupied by the friends of Benitez. He was elected President of the Republic, having promised to replace Mr. Diaz in the chair at the expiration of the term.

The administration of Gonzalez was a reign of plunder, immorality, and vice that has few parallels in history. It served Mr. Diaz by making his own administration, unsatisfactory as it had been, appear good by comparison; and as no pains were spared to keep that comparison constantly in the minds of the people, he was regarded as a saviour, when, in 1884, he returned to the Presidency.

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Mr. Diaz found the treasury ransacked and the revenues and even the public buildings hypothecated. Notwithstanding this condition of the public treasury, every other circumstance was favorable. Abroad there was an unusual tendency toward foreign speculation, and that propitious condition of the world's money markets was an assurance of eventual relief. Meanwhile the great commercial houses of Mexico offered to advance several millions of dollars to satisfy immediate exigencies. The question of money did not, therefore, present a very perplexing aspect at that time. On the other hand the neutrality of Gonzalez could be secured by allowing him and his friends the peaceful possession of the riches they had taken—(Diaz was not strong enough to deprive them of their wealth)—and of the Goverment of the State of Guanajuato, to which he had himself elected before abandoning the presidency; but Gonzalez exacted the further stipulations that other governors of States, ministers abroad, and minor employees should retain the positions he had given them; and upon these conditions, and that of alternating with Diaz in the Chief Magistracy, he was willing to continue the ally of his successor. It may be said, therefore, that between his own partisans and those of his rival, Mr. Diaz could depend on all the revolutionists in the country. Moreover, many of the officers who had served Lerdo until his fall, finding it incompatible with their military honor and personal dignity to accept the advances of Gonzalez's government, had returned to the service and given Mr. Diaz the guarantee of their honorable past.

The public in general, weary of civil war, more weary still of Gonzalez's irregularities, and being satisfied that the return of Diaz to power was the only means of insuring a relative peace, hailed him as "the necessary man." His popularity was the greater at that time, since, as I have said, he was prevented during his first administration from exhibiting his dictatorial propensities to their full extent. The President had, therefore, no restraint upon his action and was free to shape the nation's course as might, according to his understanding, best serve its interests. I do not know whether at that time Diaz conceived a policy that might serve those interests and his own, but it is certain that the one he adopted was the least calculated to do either, for ten years have sufficed to alienate the public will, impair the sources of public wealth, retard the natural development of the

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country, plunge the country into bankruptcy, and bring upon himself the distressing mania of persecution.

Unlike the great men whose superiority has in different epochs enabled them to establish despotic governments, Diaz founded his on the incompetency of his supporters, for he appears ever to have been conscious of his impotence to subdue the stronger and more enlightened of his fellow-countrymen, and, deeming their possible hostility a constant menace to his power, he has not only excluded them from all participation in the management of affairs, but made it his constant care to destroy them. In a country whereof the social conditions had been so agitated, it is readily understood that many fair reputations reposed on anything but solid bases. Some, whose principles were not well defined, were seduced; others were exiled to foreign missions, consigned to infected prisons, or subjected to an espionage that makes them at times envy the life of a prisoner; and others were killed or forced to seek in foreign countries refuge from a persecution that frequently follows them beyond the frontiers of the Republic. Thus the nation is deprived of the services of its ablest citizens, and intellect, character, virtue, whatever appears above the level of mediocrity is sacrificed to the envy and fear of a sterile ambition.

The men to whom power is confided are chosen from among those who are so constituted as to be trustworthy lieutenants of the dictator and, since the absence of lofty aspirations is, in his sight, the most desirable qualification, it follows that the representatives of his rule throughout the country are, with some exceptions, individuals of admitted inferiority and of no less recognized laxity of morals; their employment being a conspiracy against order, their fidelity is rewarded by the toleration of local despotism and proportionate participation in the general plunder that is an essential feature in the government's policy.

It is evident that the $40,000,000, more or less, to which the national revenue amounts, is not sufficient to defray the expenses of this system; foreign loans have, therefore, become a necessity. These have been obtained by misrepresenting the state of things in Mexico, and it is surprising with what ease financial agents and a subsidized press have been able to inspire a belief that the retrograde course of the Mexican Government is an expression of prosperous development, too sudden, too rapid, too

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thorough not to be at variance with all the laws of human progress. Such exaggerated reports must naturally rest on some concrete facts, and these were manufactured. Railroads, mining companies, land syndicates—here and there a factory—sprang up at the expense of enormous subventions, and by virtue of the same not a few schemers were suddenly enriched; these became trumpeters of Mr. Diaz's fame; and, with the example of their prosperity, and with statements of enterprises apparently flourishing, and of the prospects of others about to be undertaken, the Mexican boom was brought about. So it was plausible to go into the money markets of Europe to borrow millions "for the conversion of the public debt," "for the liquidation of subventions," for anything but the real purpose, which was to have an ample supply of funds for the consolidation of Cæsarism.

Large portions of the loans contracted by the federal government were necessarily devoted to the objects for which the money had been avowedly borrowed, and the remainder was never sufficient to admit of necessary divisions; wherefore governors, also, contracted debts in the names of their respective States, cities and towns followed the example, until, in all, the indebtedness of the Republic has reached a chaotic condition that represents not a few perplexing problems. In fact, at the time when Mr. Diaz's financial situation was at its best, when the credit of his government was at its highest, the diplomatic representative of a foreign power reported to his government that the Republic was insolvent. His statement was erroneous, but it so nearly expressed the apparent truth that one cannot criticise the diplomat to whom I refer for deducing it from the premises on which he reasoned. I may as well say that one of those premises was the fashionable hypothesis of that time: that the rule of Diaz was to be longer than present indications would lead us to suppose.

I have in my possession a pamphlet that was not allowed to circulate in Mexico; the author of which enters into many interesting details of the transactions to which I have alluded and strengthens his statements with names and figures. The following paragraph which I translate illustrates one form of manipulation under the Diaz *régime*:

Another loan was negotiated by the government of Porfirio Diaz to liquidate subventions due the railroad companies of the Republic. When

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the funds had been obtained, the Secretary of the Treasury showed some reluctance to dispose of them in the proposed way. The Mexican Central was the largest creditor—Government owed that company $14,000,000—and the tardiness in paying affected stocks and bonds. The Secretary of Public Works offered to use his influence to secure an immediate liquidation in exchange for the materials necessary to construct and operate a railroad of thirty kilometres between his hacienda of Motzorongo and the Vera Cruz road. . . . The company, recognizing the risk its money ran in the hands of Diaz's government, accepted Pacheco's proposition.

Not long ago I read a statement concerning the last loan; it showed by judicious reasoning and statistical proof that the government had in this case endeavored to incur liabilities to the extent of $27,000,000 for a benefit to the nation of about $6,000,000, but, Mr. Diaz's credit having declined, the loan has been only partially subscribed.

The question arises, What action will future governments take regarding the securities that the present one has issued in the name of the nation? No one can give a positive answer to that question, but it seems to be the opinion of the majority that some agreement must be made with foreign creditors, since the public faith has to some extent been pledged, and since the country has in some measure profited by a portion of the funds obtained. This sentiment does not prevail, however, in regard to loans such as the last, made against the protest of the nation and for no other manifest purpose than to perpetuate its enthralment. Original speculators are not ignorant of the problematical value of such securities launched on European markets and have disposed of them in due season; the result can be indirect only for them, but it may be very positive for others.

It is apparent from what has been said that Mexico's "unprecedented development"—our "material progress," as Mr. Diaz's friends are fond of calling it—is neither more nor less than a subterfuge necessary in the financial policy of the dictatorship and constituting the following vicious circle: Enterprises of different kinds are set on foot at the expense of subventions that in themselves assure a profit, if not a fortune, to original contractors; a sufficient portion of those subventions is paid from existing funds to facilitate the beginning of operations and the floating of stock; subsidized organs then raise a cry throughout Europe and America to draw the attention of money markets to the field for speculation that "Mr. Diaz's genius is opening to the world"; Mr. Diaz's agents go before deceived foreign publics,

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make it worth the while of some influential financier to assist, and secure a loan; with part of that loan original subvention accounts are liquidated and the country is again declared to be enjoying a foretaste of the millennium. In the mean time, neither a flourishing traffic nor the development of commerce is proportioned to expectations, but both are affected by the uncontrollable depreciation of silver, while legitimate enterprise is hampered by prohibitory taxation and partisan monopoly to an extent that makes even due calculations disappointing.

With money obtained in the manner described and with other elements alluded to, Mr. Diaz established a dictatorship. Cæsarism the world over proceeds by like means to the same end; the special features it has developed lately in Mexico are due to the unusual circumstances under which Mr. Diaz became its agent.

The Mexican constitution was very liberal, to begin with, and the still more liberal amendments made after the revolution, together with promises of further reforms, were even more binding upon the President. The whole must, therefore, be disregarded, and, in so far as possible, abolished. But, I repeat, the phraseology of the constitution, "United States of Mexico," "Universal Suffrage," "Free, Sovereign, and Independent States," and such like, had for a quarter of a century supplied all the pretexts for insurrection, and were familiar sounds that, for reasons I need not enumerate, must be preserved. But, to undermine the form of government those words represent, it was sufficient to undermine public suffrage.

If in the classic lands of freedom elections are sometimes avowedly farcical, in a country where they have seldom decided a question at issue their influence is readily destroyed by the action of martial law. As a result the governorship of States, seats in Congress and State legislatures, and, in a word, all offices to be given by the people are filled by nominees of the President, or of others with his consent, and they remain in office until they become unsatisfactory—which is seldom the case. This system, of course, makes one man the sole motor of every legislative and administrative act throughout the Republic. The judicial branch of the Government is subjected in like manner to the President's will. The pamphlet from which I quoted above gives as illustrative of this fact a case in which the Supreme Court, having decided in a given sense, reversed its decision two days

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later by order of the President. Journalists had for a while been to some degree exempt from these arbitrary practices, because the constitution provided that, if one jury found them guilty, a second jury should impose the penalty. But as jurors were often more devoted to the cause of justice than to the interests of the Government, the constitution was amended in a sense that brought disaffected writers under the immediate control of judges.

The constitutional amendment made, in accordance with the programme of the revolution, to declare the President of the Republic and Governors of States ineligible to consecutive terms of office was twice re-amended. Prior to 1888 the new form allowed those functionaries to serve for *two* consecutive terms, and in 1890 the last amendment allowed indefinite re-election. In both cases what few arguments were advanced by friends of the administration were based on the theory of the "necessary man."

Thus, as has often been repeated, with the most liberal laws and a government the most despotic, Mexico is subjected to a *régime* that produces the evils of both the written and the practised forms without the advantages of either.

One would naturally ask, What means can have been employed to make a people endure such a condition of affairs? The question can be answered in two words: Money and Murder—abetted by an unaccountable hope that Mr. Diaz inspired some years ago and by fatigue of civil war; and if those two words are in themselves revolting as expressive of a government's policy, the way in which official assassination is practised cannot be adequately qualified. The favorite form is the application of the *fugitive law*, in virtue of which a prisoner who attempts to escape is fired upon. An offender is conveyed, usually at night, from the place where he may have been arrested, and the guard shoots him "to prevent evasion"; sometimes they say he escapes, and sometimes they find it simpler to say nothing. This form of execution is very often applied to public malefactors, and, though it is true society gains by the removal of such pernicious members, it is difficult to understand why a government should resort to lynching in cases where law would be efficient—the only explanation therefore is to be found in the necessity of inspiring terror. The fugitive law is not applied by order of the President alone, but is tolerated in his menials, and it is easy to conceive the unlimited abuses of which it admits in the hands of lordlings who have seen

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their sand-bags turned to feudal sceptres. But it speaks highly, very highly, for the courage of the Mexican race that, in the presence of sure ruin on the one hand, and with a golden path inviting them on the other to comfort or affluence, the government has found it useful to kill many thousands of our fellow-countrymen. The lowest estimate I have heard for official assassinations gave, in 1891, an average of one and a half per day since Mr. Diaz's accession to power.

As for money, the last efforts show that further loans cannot be negotiated and, as I said, the yearly revenue will not defray the expenses of the Diaz system. On the other hand, the feeling of the later seventies and early eighties, that made peace appear cheap at any cost, has changed: the people think now that, under the present government, peace costs more than it is worth. Plotting, scheming, conspiracy, are rampant throughout the country. It is not many months since it was found advisable to send ten thousand troops of the line to suppress a local movement in the State of Guerrero, and similar affairs have claimed the government's attention in the States of Puebla, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Chihuahua, and elsewhere. A general feeling of impending collapse is noticeable throughout the country. The hope Mr. Diaz had inspired has vanished, and people seem to be preparing for "the unforeseen."

"*El Universal,*" a ministerial daily paper, referring to the deficit in this year's budget, says:

> "Government has not abandoned the contest. Far from that, it struggles with all its might—heroically—as becomes its honor and its duty; it has realized stupendous economies—all that were compatible with an efficient public service; it has created new sources of revenue—all that were possible under these delicate circumstances—and, assisted by the enlightened committee on the budget, it has insured a wonderful reduction in the deficit. But the evil subsists and may become more serious, and, if the value of silver falls in the next three months proportionately as it has in the past, all hope of equilibrium will have disappeared."

When the personal organ of the President finds nothing better to publish than this, it would appear that we are being prepared for further "stupendous economies" in the form of repudiated obligations. The deficit for this year is estimated at $8,000,000, and at $13,000,000 for the next. Government organs admit a deficit of $3,000,000 for 1894, and trust to Mr. Diaz's ability for 1895.

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Thus, after exercising absolute power for ten years, having larger revenues and fewer legitimate expenses than had any of his predecessors, the "necessary man" has burdened Mexico with a debt of $200,000,000 and sunk his government into bankruptcy from which, as he says in his speech to Congress, only extraordinary measures can extricate it. He does not suggest to what extraordinary measures he may resort.

I would be misunderstood if readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW supposed me to believe the situation hopeless, for, with the rest of my countrymen, I have implicit faith in the integrity of a new generation and, consequently, see in the approaching fall of Diaz the solution of our difficulties and an assurance of national prosperity.

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OUR FAMILY SKELETON.

BY JOHN F. HUME.

THE Governors of a number of the Southern States recently had a pre-arranged conference at Richmond, Va., to whose proceedings it was manifestly intended that public attention should be invited. The declared purpose of its members was to consult as to the best measures for bringing to the communities they represented an increase of capital and population. With that end in view, it is certainly somewhat curious that, so far as the public is advised, the distinguished conferees, in the course of their deliberations, unintentionally overlooked, or intentionally ignored, what is to-day one of the principal hindrances to Southern growth and prosperity. I refer to the repudiated or neglected debts of sundry of our States.

It will doubtless surprise a good many people to learn the amounts that are owing by American States, which are discredited by non-payment of either principal or interest, or of both. Some information on this point can be gained by consulting the list of securities dealt in at the New York Stock Exchange. If anyone is desirous of getting some bonds that bear the great seal of an American State for very little money, he can there find between eight and nine millions of dollars, par value, in the obligations of the State of Arkansas, that will cost him, according to current quotations, between ten and fifteen cents on the dollar. If his preference should be for the undertakings of the older State of North Carolina, he can get, in the same way, nearly twelve millions of them, by paying from five to eight cents on the dollar. If, however, his inclination should lead him to select paper of the more aristocratic South Carolina, he can be supplied to the extent of six millions of dollars at from two to five per cent. And, if his admiration

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for venerable names and institutions should carry him still further, he can get at a low figure certificates representing original bonded issues of the State of Virginia amounting, without interest, to fifteen millions of dollars. This last statement may be a puzzle to some readers, who have recently been informed that Virginia has settled her disputed indebtedness by a compromise with her creditors. That settlement, however, extends to only two-thirds of the debt. The other third Virginia has absolutely discarded on the not altogether unplausible ground that, when she was divested of one-third of her territory and wealth by the creation of the new State of West Virginia, she was to that extent equitably absolved from obligation, and she has set it over to West Virginia to take care of. And what has West Virginia done about it? As part of the original debtor State she was equally liable with the rest of the commonwealth, and as an honest community she could not decline to contribute, at least proportionately, to the debt's extinguishment, without further undertaking. But there was fresh assumption on her part. The act of Congress under which she accepted admission into the Union as a separate State required her to discharge her full share of the old indebtedness, and the constitution under which she did enter the Union, and which became a solemn compact with all the world, provided that "An equitable proportion of the public debt of the commonwealth of Virginia, prior to the first of January in the year 1861, shall be assumed by this State."

But, although more than thirty years have passed since the foregoing agreement was entered into, West Virginia has not paid one cent of the liability she assumed, nor does she show the slightest disposition to do so. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the certificates referred to should command at the Stock Exchange only from six to seven cents on the dollar, which seems to be the world's estimate of the value of West Virginia's promises-to-pay.

In this matter of the Virginia debt great inequity has been done. Old Virginia has been denounced as a repudiator the whole world over, and yet she has never refused to settle with her creditors for her proportionate share of the debt on some basis, and according to what she claimed to be the full measure of her ability, in the end making what is conceded to be the *amende honorable;* while West Virginia, just as strongly obligated from

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the beginning, and fully as able to perform her stipulations, doing nothing whatever, has encountered scarcely a word of criticism. The charge of repudiation has been strangely misplaced. It is West Virginia that should be pilloried.

But the Stock Exchange list does not tell the whole story of State defaults, by any means. It does not tell it fully in the case of any of the States just named, and there are others whose neglected obligations are not admitted to Wall Street's famous market at all. Georgia has issued nine or ten millions of those last referred to; Florida is responsible for four or five millions more, and Louisiana for twenty millions. As far back as 1842 Mississippi had put out seven millions of her bonds that went to the European market. Their disposition was fair enough, but Mississippi soon made an alarming discovery. Her Governor announced in a message to the people of that State that their bonds had fallen into the hands of a person "in whose veins flows the blood of Judas and of Shylock, and who unites the qualities of both his countrymen." "He," continued His Excellency in his picturesque way, "has mortgages upon the silver mines of Mexico and the quicksilver mines of Spain. He has advanced money to the Sublime Porte, and taken as security a mortgage upon the holy city of Jerusalem and the sepulchre of our Savior. It is for this people to say whether he shall have a mortgage upon our cotton fields and make serfs of our children." Of course, the people of Mississippi were horrified at the idea of being in the clutches of such a monster, and naturally decided to contribute no more of their sweat and means to enrich the house of Rothschild. Nor have fifty years sufficed to overcome their indignation. Not a dollar in all that time have they paid on account of either principal or interest.

Without going further into particulars, it will not be difficult to credit the statement that the indebtedness which is evidenced by debentures of American States that have long been disowned or dishonored, to say nothing of unpaid interest that considerably overruns the principal, exceeds one hundred millions of money. Nor does that amount include the undertakings of States like Tennessee and Alabama, that have been arbitrarily "scaled"—sometimes more than once—until the residuum became very meagre, and was accepted by creditors only as a choice between something and nothing. Such settlements were quasi-repudia-

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tions. In principle, if in no other respects, they differ most essentially from the adjustment recently entered into by Virginia, which was a compromise and an agreement in which all parties in interest were participants. And here it is well enough to remark that by no means is the whole of the foregoing amount made up, as many have been led to suppose, of securities issued under the "Carpet-Bag" *régime*. The bonded debts of Virginia and Mississippi were all of ante-bellum date, as were many of the discarded or "scaled" issues of Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, etc., etc. Nor were all "Carpet Bag" debentures fraudulently created and their proceeds misapplied.

Nor in the same amount is there included certain rejected State obligations for which debentures have never been issued. For instance, the State of Texas has out between eight and nine thousand certificates or warrants, each calling for 640 acres of land, and the whole aggregating an area nearly twice the size of Connecticut. For over ten years the holders have been unable to get either land or its equivalent. As we have in this case a rather striking illustration of the temper shown by more than one American State towards those who have trusted in its engagements, it seems altogether proper that the facts should be given. When Texas entered the Federal Union she retained her public domain, which was very large. At the same time, in a marketable sense, it was very worthless. The writer has heard one of the largest land owners of that State speak of the time when he was accustomed to purchase a 640-acre section of land with a pony, the price of which was five dollars. The want of transportation facilities was the drawback, and Texas decided to assist in the construction of railroads. Any company building a certain length of railway became entitled to a certain number of land warrants, locative on any of the State's vacant and unreserved domain, which, being negotiable, were sold all over the country, and almost wholly to people outside of the State. The result of this policy, however, was such an advance in the price of wild lands that Texas in time discovered that the faithful fulfilment of all her contracts would involve a considerable sacrifice. It was at a time when repudiation in that part of the country was prevalent, and she caught the contagion. Accordingly her legislature, without warning to the holders of her warrants, passed an Act declaring that the land intended for

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their satisfaction was "exhausted," and putting an end to the whole land warrant business. This was done without providing any compensation to the owners of such warrants as were cut off. At the same time for her own people and her own uses Texas seemed to have a superfluity of land. Besides munificently endowing her schools and other public institutions from her unappropriated domain, she applied over three millions of acres, which which were soon afterwards valued at twenty millions of dollars, to the erection of a magnificent State House, and gave twelve hundred and eighty acres to her citizens who had served as soldiers in the Confederate ranks (nothing to Texans serving in the Union army), and to "servants attending such soldiers." It was only for outsiders who had purchased her unexecuted agreements that she was landless. And what business had Texas, if she was indeed short of land and too poor to provide an adequate substitute, as she knew exactly what her territory was, to put out covenants that were not to be fulfilled? Wherein would such action differ from that of a person making and marketing promises-to-pay which he knew he could not take care of—a proceeding that would ordinarily be set down as plain and simple cheating? The immunity of the offender in this instance from the usual consequences of the transgression only increases the scandal, because a transaction that would send a private citizen to the penitentiary is none the more reputable because the deed of a sovereign State.

But although, so far, only Southern States have been mentioned as delinquents, it is not intended by the writer to convey the impression that repudiation has been confined to the south side of Mason and Dixon's line. It is a plant that first grew on Northern soil. Even before Mississippi's defalcation the witty English divine, Sidney Smith, declared that if he were to meet a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania at dinner he would feel like stripping him of his clothes for distribution among the guests. The reason was that Pennsylvania had "gone back" on some of her bonds that had been sold to Englishmen, and it was possible that the reverend joker was one of the sufferers. Pennsylvania, however, soon redeemed her contracts and her reputation. Both Indiana and Michigan for a time "laid down" on their obligations, the first because unable to pay, the second because she was unwilling. Both succeeded before very long in putting

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matters right. The last of the Northern repudiating States was Minnesota, whose case is not only interesting in itself, but conveys a healthy moral and a good deal of useful instruction for some other communities. Minnesota, away back in the fifties, lent her credit to railroad companies that were building in her territory. Bonds were issued, but very little road was constructed. It was a case of palpable cheating, and probably beat anything in the category of Southern carpet-bag operations about which so much has been heard. The people of Minnesota revolted against the swindle, and voted an amendment to their State constitution forbidding the payment of the bonds. For twenty-three years that barrier stood unbroken. But at last Minnesota put at the head of her State administration a man who held that a good name is worth more than money; or, perhaps, to express it more accurately, *is* money; and that the rule applies as well to communities as to individuals. Governor Pillsbury resolved to give his State a clean bill of health. He adroitly managed to bring the constitutional inhibition before the courts, which promptly decided it void under the provision of the United States Constitution that forbids legislation impairing the obligation of contracts—a ruling that will apply to all enactments of the sort in other States, and which makes them legally not worth the paper they are printed on. That obstruction having been removed, legislation to settle the debt was quickly passed. When the first act was declared inoperative on account of a technical defect the Governor at once convened the legislature in special session, and a perfect law was substituted. By that act Minnesota was relieved of a stigma that threatened a perpetual blight. It was the wisest step she ever took, thanks to the courage and ability of the man she had put at the head of her affairs. Fortunate would it be for several other States if they had Pillsburys for their Governors.

It is hardly necessary to argue that the impairment of a State's credit must impede its progress. Such a proposition needs no demonstration; it is self-evident. It is the natural inclination of both capital and population to shun a community where contracts are not respected. The effect of such a condition of things was perhaps, never better described than in a letter appearing in one of our Northern journals in 1882, which was written by an intelligent observer in New Orleans three years after the State of Louisi-

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ana had most flagrantly broken faith with the holders of many of her bonds. Said the writer:

"The unsettled condition of the finances of Louisiana for three years past has seriously obstructed her growth and prosperity, causing a universal distress which has not merely impaired the credit of the commonwealth but has also to a great extent injuriously affected individual credit, prevented investment of foreign capital, and excluded immigration."

The picture was as true of other States as it was of Louisiana at the time it was sketched, and it is yet true to a very considerable extent. Of this fact we need no other proof than the depressed condition of the South's principal industrial corporations, viz.: her railroad companies. With the business and population of a long settled country, not only is she without lines corresponding in profitableness to the Centrals of New York and Pennsylvania, but her railroads are even less prosperous than those spanning the almost unsettled regions of the Northwest. Georgia is her recognized leader in wealth and enterprise, but most of Georgia's roads are in receivers' hands. It is not so much that outside capital avoids the South. There is plenty of it seeking her coal and iron and timber lands, and even millions have disappeared in her luckless "boomer" cities and towns. Why is it then, that, when we come to her railroads, their stocks are shunned by investors, and even their mortgage securities go at murderous discounts. Is it not because, being quasi-public institutions, operating under State legislation and supervision, they share to a considerable extent the discredit of their legal masters and sponsors? They, however, are not the only interests affected. All corporations in repudiating States, including cities and counties and towns, are more or less sufferers in the same way. This thing has been strikingly illustrated. The State of Missouri, at the close of the Civil War, found itself very heavily indebted, besides having its taxable resources fearfully reduced. It had imprudently lent its credit to railroad companies before the war, and much unpaid interest had accumulated. But, instead of repudiating the debt in whole or part, Missouri went bravely to work to resume payment in full, and soon had its credit reëstablished. Adjoining Missouri is Arkansas, which found itself in much the same condition. But, instead of studying how to pay its debts, Arkansas began to study how not to pay them, and wound up by so amending its constitution as to repudiate the greater portion. Not only are Missouri's State obli-

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gations to-day above par, while those of Arkansas are down towards zero, but municipal and other corporate debentures created in Missouri command much better prices than those belonging to Arkansas. And what is true at that one point runs all along the line. The boundary between the debt-paying and the non-paying States marks a sharp break in the level of values. All market prices that depend upon public and quasi-public credit are higher on one side than on the other. Why it is so is not a matter of conjecture. The cause is as obvious as the fact.

There is another way in which repudiating States have been made to suffer that should not be over-looked. Scarcely one of them but has been the victim of serious official defalcation. And while all, or nearly all, repudiating States have had their troubles with faithless treasury officials, it is a notable fact that, with the exception of Wisconsin, that has had a controversy over interest collected on State funds, and one State south of Mason and Dixon's line, the other States have been exempt. It is safe to say that, since the war, the debt-paying States have not permanently lost a dollar by treasury defalcations, while the losses of the non-payers mount up to the millions. Nor is it in State departments alone that the difference is to be seen. Delinquencies on the part of city, county, and other corporate custodians have been notoriously much more common in defaulting States than outside of them. There is nothing very remarkable in this—certainly nothing that is mysterious. It is simply another exhibition of cause and effect ; for it is perfectly natural that, under such conditions, persons in subordinate places of trust should be drawn into evil courses. They are only following the broad highway of the State's example. The demoralization comes from above. The result, from an educational standpoint, is not altogether to be deplored. In being called upon from time to time to take portions of their own medicine, the recalcitrant States have had opportunities to learn something of its taste and its workings.

There can be very little doubt about the decision when the final question of profit and loss is reached. The creditors of the delinquent States are not the greatest losers. The States suffer more than they do. Not a year passes in which the pecuniary injuries they sustain, principally indirect, do not exceed the interest on the loans they discard. Indeed, it is a question whether their entire controverted indebtedness could not be compromised at a

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figure little in excess of the annual loss it brings upon them. Nor is the loss abating with the lapse of time. The debts will not be forgotten, as long as their evidences are bought and sold in the markets of the world. How disreputable to States like Georgia and the Carolinas that their paper should be hawked about the streets of our business centres at a few cents on the dollar! and what a scandal that contracts for 640 acres of land, issued according to law and for full consideration rendered, by as rich a State as Texas, should go, as they have been doing at some of the exchanges, at five dollars each! Time only makes the matter worse, because the increasing wealth of the delinquent States robs them of the sympathy their misfortunes once created.

Not that all the people of any State are in fault. There is not a delinquent community in which the better citizens, representing its wealth and intelligence, would not rejoice in an honorable settlement with creditors; but the trouble is that the debt question has been dragged into local politics, with the effect of arraying all the baser elements, under the leadership of scheming politicians, against the wiser policy. But that this difficulty is not insurmountable is shown by the recent action of Virginia. No State ever had a more pestiferous force to contend against than she had in her repudiation party, and yet her better and safer counsellors have prevailed. Virginia, freed from the burden of discredit by which she has been so long handicapped, may be expected to bound forward in the race and assume something of her ancient leadership. She has set an example that a number of her Southern sisters would do well, for their own sakes, to follow; for nothing is more certain than that the States that first settle with their creditors will advance, and those that last settle will lag. If they are wise enough to walk in her footsteps, they will lose no time in burying the skeleton of the unpaid debt in the only way in which it can be effectually disposed of, instead of persisting in trying to hide or ignore it, while it is left gibbering above ground and stalking at will about the land.*

JOHN F. HUME.

* A reply to this article, by the Hon. Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, will appear in the July number of the REVIEW.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN PRACTICE.

BY THE HON. DAVIS H. WAITE, GOVERNOR OF COLORADO, AND THE HON. LORENZO CROUNSE, GOVERNOR OF NEBRASKA.

GOVERNOR WAITE:

AS THE result of last Fall's election, the women of Colorado were enfranchised and became possessed of all the rights of citizenship. In republics there are, in favor of equal suffrage, two principles, against which no just objection can be made—

1. There should be no taxation without representation.

There is, without doubt, plenty of taxation without representation, aside from the taxation of women, but this does not affect or in any manner excuse the fact that the women, a large class of people, amounting to nearly or quite one-half, are taxed without representation. The idea that women are represented by their husbands or sons is often incorrect where these relations exist, and totally fails in cases where the women are unmarried.

2. Suffrage should be based on intelligence.

Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. If a woman has the mental ability to protest against unjust laws, and to demand enactments calculated to promote the general welfare, why should not her wishes, and most especially when taxed as a citizen, be consulted in the exercise of the powers of the government ?

The tendency of the age has been to the extension of suffrage, but regardless of the rights of women. The elective franchise was given to the negro in the South, with all his unfitness. From a very early period the bars of suffrage in the great Northwest have been let down, and the most ignorant male foreigners unable to speak our language, or realize the meaning of the "declaration of intentions," or even the act of voting, have been endowed with suffrage in advance of citizenship, and many of them

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have shamelessly sold their votes to yet more shameless buyers. Undoubtedly such extension of suffrage was an error. The remedy, to some extent at least, has been by education, to assimilate this unfit mass of voters, and transform them into good citizens. Up to twenty years ago the common schools of the land did educate the youth of the country, so as to preserve the nation from decay. But since that time the irruption of pauper and contract labor has been so immense, has so concentrated in labor centres, and so isolated in customs, language, and residence, that the standard of national intelligence has been lowered, and the ratio of ignorance increased.

The political rights of woman in the past have been practically ignored in the United States, though recognized in Utah, Wyoming, Washington, and now in Colorado. Man, with his physical and mental superiority, has had unlimited control both in this and all other nations, and none can deny that liberty is endangered, and human rights are stricken down all over the world. Let me quote from two of the greatest clergymen of the age.

Cardinal Gibbons says :

"The economic conditions of the United States are fast approaching those of England. The homes of the poor are marked by destitution and squalor. The light of Heaven is being closed from miserable tenement room and attic. Flesh and blood are becoming more cheap and bread more dear. The well-being of the car horse is more solicitously watched than that of the driver. Small wonder that strong men, maddened by the tears of a wife and cries of starving children, sometimes band themselves together and resort to deeds of violence."

This from the great Catholic prelate. Listen to an equally great Protestant divine.

Said Bishop Potter, of New York, in a recent sermon :

"When I speak of this as an era of plutocrats, nobody can misunderstand me. All recognize the rise of the money power. Its growth not merely destroys the independence of the people, but the blind believers in the omnipotent power of money assert that its liberal use condones every offence. The pulpit does not speak out as it should. These plutocrats are the enemies of religion as they are of the state. I have heard the corrupt use of money in elections, and the sale of the sacred right of the ballot, openly defended by ministers of the Gospel."

Bishop Simpson, a distinguished Methodist divine, said in 1864 that "no great moral reform would ever be enforced by law until the right of suffrage was given to women."

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The necessity of some remedy for such conditions cannot be denied. To my knowledge, there are no just objections to equal suffrage. It is claimed that to admit women to full citizenship includes the right to be elected to office, and this, carried out, say certain scientists, "would defy nature; it would pull the woman out of her element, willing or unwilling, with the fact under their noses that the mass of women, out of their sphere, through ignorance or hard facts, are, by their weakness, in an unnatural position, forced to inferiority. They are women, and not men. When they fight man, there may be one here and there found to hold her own, but the mass are driven to the ragged edge or into the gutter." *

But why need war, pestilence, and famine be the normal condition of mankind? Mr. Kinney forgets that in the so-called "battle of life" women have never had a fair chance. They are weaker physically and perhaps, as a mass, mentally than men, but until within a few years the higher walks of education have been closed to them. A proper sphere of women, without doubt, is to bear children, and this fact will prevent women from engaging so extensively as men in legislative and official duties, but it deserves little consideration as against the right of women to suffrage, or to hold office, if, all things considered, she is the choice of the people. It is objected that in time of war, women cannot fight in the ranks. That is true, but battles are not won wholly in the field. The patriotic women North and South, in the late unpleasantness, in their own legitimate way, accomplished as much and perhaps more than the warriors on the battlefield.

It must be admitted that the effect which equal suffrage will produce upon the State and nation is a matter of conjecture. In Utah, the right of women to vote under the Territorial laws did not injuriously affect polygamy, but polygamy there was a tenet of the Mormon religion, and a large proportion of the female voters were polygamists by faith or practice. In Wyoming and Washington, to my knowledge, no extraordinary progress has been made in the line of political reform that can be traced to female suffrage, and in Colorado sufficient time has not elapsed to speak understandingly of the result. Certainly there is little hope of the future, unless women, admitted to suffrage, acquaint them-

* Abbot Kinney, *Conquest of Death*, page 39.

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selves more thoroughly than men with political affairs, and "come up with greater zeal to the help of the Lord against the mighty," in providing a remedy for the fearful condition of this nation, the result of the positive acts of conspiring monopolists, and the hitherto criminal negligence of the mass of the voters.

Of course there is nothing in equal suffrage that of itself is partisan. In every State, men of all parties either support or oppose female suffrage, but there is no doubt that in Colorado the women owe suffrage to the Populists. The Populists in the General Assembly nearly all supported the bill, but a majority of the members of both the old parties voted in opposition. The law was recommended by a Populist governor, the bill was introduced by a Populist Representative, at the general election the Populist party in the State supported the measure ; but nearly all the Republican counties and all the Democratic counties voted largely against it.

Equal suffrage is no part of the St. Louis or Omaha platform, but it was at one time a part of the St. Louis platform. Miss Frances Willard and other distinguished advocates of the rights of women secured its adoption in committee at the night session, but it was eliminated because—

1. Suffrage is essentially a State right, and can neither be conferred nor taken away by act of Congress ; and

2. Because it interfered with that stern but common-sense rule that a political platform must not be loaded down with unnecessary issues, no matter how excellent. The only legitimate object of a national political platform is to declare the policy of the party upon the living issues, which must be decided in the pending campaign.

Miss Willard was terribly disappointed, and shook the dust off her gaiters, as her testimonial against the St. Louis Convention, and has ever since, I doubt not, thought many naughty things against the People's Party, but then and there the pathway was made straight for the success of equal suffrage. It was the glorious preamble to the St. Louis and Omaha platforms which stripped the old parties of their disguises, branded them as servile tools of monopoly, and founded the People's Party on the rock of "equal rights for all, and special privileges to none." No Republican or Democratic State will ever confer equal suffrage upon women, because Republicans and Democrats,

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as political parties, do not believe in the doctrine of equal rights.

The principle of equal rights for all against which for the past quarter of a century the two old parties have waged relentless war is the sign by which the People's Party is to conquer. It will, at no distant day, not only redeem women from political servitude, but also emancipate man and woman from industrial slavery.

DAVIS H. WAITE.

GOVERNOR CROUNSE:

AT its session held in 1881 the Legislature of Nebraska was induced to pass an Act providing for the submission to the people of a proposed amendment to the State constitution extending the elective franchise to women. This action on the part of the Legislature proceeded not so much from a conviction that the amendment was necessary as it did from a desire to test the sense of our people on the subject. Neither did the amendment grow out of any urgent demand on the part of the women of the State, but it was rather inspired by advocates and agitators from without who supposed Nebraska to be a new and promising field for experiment.

The vote on the proposed amendment, which was taken in November, 1882, was preceded by a campaign of marked activity and earnestness, and if the minds of the women of the State were not awakened to a sense of wrongs endured and rights denied, it was from no lack of teaching and exhortation. The canvass received the benefit and impetus of the National Woman Suffrage Convention which was held at Omaha, the metropolis of the State, in September of that year, and which was largely attended by ladies from all parts of the United States, some of whom had earned a national reputation as advocates of the cause. Many of these ladies under the leadership of the veteran, Susan B. Anthony, distributed themselves throughout the State and labored unceasingly until the close of the polls. Nevertheless, the result showed a vote of but 25,756 for, and 50,693 against, the proposed amendment, while 12,619 voted neither way—or out of a total vote of nearly 90,000, but 25,756 declared themselves in favor of it. It is fair to assume that the 25,756 males who voted for the proposed amendment were actuated by the same gallantry and

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spirit of fairness which moved the Legislature to submit it, and voiced the sentiment of all the women who demanded it.

It is also but fair to assume that while some 13,000 were indifferent to the question, the other 50,000 represented the women who were willing to leave the ballot with their husbands, fathers, and brothers, whose good judgment they respected, and whose wisdom and care stood attested by many laws on our statute-books enacted for the protection of their person and property. This adverse vote also included that other numerous class who not only believe there is no necessity for woman's participation in active politics, but who claim as against "woman's rights" the right to be let alone and not to be forced by their bolder and more ambitious sisters into fields which they feel that nature and a sense of delicacy disqualify them from entering. For, argue as we may, the franchise once bestowed, the obligation falls on all women alike to exercise it. When granted, it comes not simply as a privilege or right, but it falls as a duty—a duty which rests especially on the intelligent and virtuous. When the bold, the bad, and the ambitious among the women, like their kind among the males, are moving in the direction of bad legislation and loose government, the educated and refined will be compelled to lay aside their modesty and, willingly or unwillingly, will be forced to oppose them.

Nebraska is an agricultural rather than a manufacturing State and there are no laws of a special character required for the benefit of women. But every reasonable demand short of a grant of the elective franchise seems to have been anticipated by our statutes. The laws have even gone further and given women rights and privileges not bestowed upon males. In common with the statutes of most States, those of Nebraska declare that all property, real and personal, which a woman possesses at the time of her marriage, and any which may come to her by descent, gift, or purchase, becomes and remains her separate property and is not subject to disposal by her husband or liable for his debts. She may also, as a married woman, carry on trade or business on her own account, and the earnings shall be her own, while the husband is liable at the same time for the support of herself and of their family. Should she make the mistake of marrying a husband cruel enough to maltreat her, or one so shiftless as to fail to support her, she can rid herself of him by divorce.

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In the election of school officers mothers and taxpaying women are allowed to vote. This right, however, is rarely exercised.

The laws relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors and in which the women of the State are so vitally concerned, have been carefully and wisely considered. Liquors can be lawfully sold only under a license for which the vendor must pay for the benefit of the school fund the sum of $500 at least, or such greater sum as the local authorities may demand, thus enabling localities where the sentiment will sustain the action to fix the price so high as to amount to prohibition. Applicants for licenses must have the indorsement of thirty freeholders certifying to their respectability and standing, and before entering upon their business they must give a bond in the sum of $5,000 that they will not violate any of the provisions of the law regulating the sale of intoxicating drinks. Among these restrictions are those forbidding sale to minors and habitual drunkards, and coupled with these is a special provision for the benefit of married women, enabling them to maintain in their own right a suit on the bond for all damages sustained by themselves or their children on account of liquors sold to their husbands.

By way of comparison it may be remarked that the Nebraska laws relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors are far more thorough and far reaching, and are better observed, than they are in the sister and adjoining State, Wyoming, where woman suffrage has obtained for quarter of a century. In an article on "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming," which recently appeared in the Chicago *Record*, the writer, commenting on reports from correspondents who have been on the ground, says, among other things:

> "At the capital city of the State gambling-houses are abundant and open saloons are as frequent as any other kind of stores, and the charge is made that 'not a single act of legislation aimed at the betterment of the human race has been passed through woman's influence.'"

How true this may be I cannot say, but it is true that in Lincoln, the capital city of Nebraska, a city of more than 65,000 inhabitants, there are no gambling-houses, no houses of prostitution, and the few saloons which exist are held under the most rigid restriction.

The verdict of 1882 stands, in my opinion, as the verdict of to-day. If, however, at any time the general wish of the women

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of the State shall be for the elective franchise, I have no doubt that it will be accorded to them. Nevertheless, without it Nebraska's advance in wealth, population, and in the scale of intelligence stands with scarcely a parallel; but what she is stands to the credit of woman as much as to that of man. Nebraska's sons are largely what their mothers have made them, and what the husbands have achieved has been with the advice and support of the wives, whose influence is felt in a thousand ways other than in the caucus, the convention, or at the polls.

LORENZO CROUNSE.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BISHOP DOANE AND AMERICAN ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE answer made by the Bishop of Albany to Mr. George Parsons Lathrop's paper on "Hostility to Roman Catholics" in the May number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is of great interest to American Roman Catholics, who give allegiance to no country but their own. Bishop Doane's utterance manifests the man of education and cultivation, fair-minded, frank, typical of his class. That his words are representative gives them their chief interest in the eyes of Catholics like myself, who are most anxious to discover the reasons why our religion is looked on with suspicion by many who love us personally, and in whose hospitality and kindness we have a cordial and brotherly share. If Bishop Doane were a fanatic or a bigot, his words would simply fill us with despair and indignation. But the Bishop of Albany manifests every disposition to be fair. His words have evidently been weighed and the thoughts they reveal are long thoughts; in fact, they seem to be the convictions of a lifetime. He is an exponent of the broadest non-Catholics in our country. And I have heard it said that there could not be a more Christian or honorable spokesman for cultivated non-Catholic opinion on the relations of American Roman Catholics to the Pope and the Government of the United States.

Still, it is hard to understand why, if Bishop Doane represents their opinions, all Americans of his education and position have not raised their voices night and day against the existence of Catholics in this country. If he states correctly the convictions of some of the best of our fellow-citizens concerning our relations to the Church and State, logical men can hardly excuse them for not banding together, following, of course, more honorable and open methods than the A. P. A. folk, and attempting to extirpate the Catholic Church from this country. As the Bishop of Albany really believes what he says about the position of Catholics in this country, it is difficult to imagine how he reconciles the almost sympathetic tone he uses towards us with our cardinal sin as he sees it.

Many bishops and noble lords and squires of all degrees belonging to that church of which Queen Victoria is the head and Bishop Doane an eminent ecclesiastic have held such views, and consequently persecuted the Catholic Church with conscientious fervor. I say conscientious with emphasis, for, according to Father Busenbaum, of the Society of Jesus, "When men who have been brought up in heresy are persuaded from boyhood that we impugn and attack the word of God, that we are idolaters, pestilent deceivers, and therefore are to be shunned as pestilences, they cannot, while this persuasion lasts, with a safe conscience hear us." And, to go further, how can they

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look on us as worthy of confidence as their fellow-citizens if we are governed in all duties of every-day life by a foreign despot, who claims, not only spiritual and moral, but temporal power over us?

If we are, as Bishop Doane believes, the slaves of an alien temporal prince who is unqualified in his assertion of his right to temporal sovereignty and imperial domination and universal control, then the A. P. A. people are justified in their attitude so far as that attitude does not include lies or forgeries and wilful malice. If Bishop Doane honestly believes that Leo XIII. can at any moment order the Catholics of this country to oppose even by force of arms any political measure which may be abhorrent to him, how can he by any stretch of casuistry keep himself from "howling with the wolves" who are now making some parts of the West temporarily hideous?

What doctrine of expediency ought to prevent educated Protestants, whom Bishop Doane represents, from ostracizing every man who says "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," and who holds that in extraordinary utterances the Pope is infallible? Let us say temperately how far we Catholics deserve the opinion Bishop Doane has of us.

In the Holy Gospel of St. Mark, as given in the Vulgate, we find these words, spoken after Christ had recognized the image and the inscription on the penny which the Sadducees had brought him,—"*Reddite igitur quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari; et quæ sunt Dei, Deo.*" This is paraphrased in a quotation which the Bishop makes from a Catholic source,—"We are bound to obey the laws of the state when they are not contrary to the laws of God." Bishop Doane, speaking of his fellow-citizens, asks, "Who is to interpret this?" If it were left to the private judgment of individuals, or to a political party, or to a secular organization, he would see no immediate cause for alarm; but when the decision is made "by an ecclesiastic organization, nay by a single ecclesiastic claiming sovereignty, temporal as well as spiritual, and accepted and recognized as infallible, the case is enormously aggravated."

Bishop Doane does not mean to imply that the laws of all states are always infallible, and that there ought never to be a conflict between a conviction and a law; nor does he mean to say that the dictum of a political caucus would be more likely to be right on matters of civic importance than that of any ecclesiastical organization—a Board of Bishops, for instance. Ministers are obliged to settle cases of conscience every day for people in their charge. There are, no doubt, ministers and groups of ministers in Albany, under the Bishop's jurisdiction, who do this. In England, when the conscience of certain Ritualists came into conflict with the law of the land, there were men of very similar religious opinions to those of Bishop Doane, who held that the state should be defied. There are many conceivable cases in which the Bishop himself would doubtless refuse to obey a law of Cæsar's because of that "higher law" which is owned by all enlightened consciences. He, however, would probably not do so until he had consulted his friends and guided his conduct by their opinions, and perhaps by the ecclesiastical traditions of his church.

No Catholic yields *absolute* obedience to the Church or to the Pope. No Pope claims temporal sovereignty beyond the territory which was his as a temporal ruler. No Pope claims infallibility in directing the matters of every-day life. No Pope, unless by the consent of nations, could appear among them in the capacity of their temporal head. The Pope is infallible

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in matters of faith and morals when he teaches the whole Church as the living voice of Christ. But he cannot make new dogmas. He has never done so. As an infallible teacher his power is limited to the already revealed word of God. The Pope cannot make a moral issue out of a merely political one. No word of his could force American Catholic soldiers to throw down their arms in a cause which they believed to be just. It is hardly possible that a Pope like Alexander VI. can ever reign, unless Platonism and luxury and ambition, like Dante's three beasts, should possess themselves of the human side of the Church at Rome. Alexander VI., in his desire to aggrandize his son, was as infallible as most doting fathers are. In his treatment of Savonarola he was very fallible and very peccable. And the Catholic world, not affected by "Roman malaria" of the time that hung about the base of Peter's column, held him to be so. He was, nevertheless, infallible when he taught from St. Peter's chair in matters spiritual.

If one of the most intellectual men in Europe, Louis XIII., saw an opportunity of gaining the good will of America towards the establishment of his rule, untrammelled by vexatious laws in Rome, by declaring—let us absurdly imagine—in favor of the Populist party, he could do it. We Catholics might conclude that in the platform of the Populist party there was nothing against the Ten Commandments, none of the errors condemned by the *curia* in the famous syllabus, and nothing damnable. We would read the respect of the Holy Father for Populist doctrines with respectful amazement and consideration. It might influence some votes, but not one of Tammany's. No Catholic would feel forced to obey the Pope under pain of loss of salvation. Dante was one of the best Catholics that ever lived, and yet, while exercising all the privileges of a communicant—let us say, "in good standing"—he took violent part against the party of the Pope in Italian politics. Raphael, without rebuke from Rome—with the distinct approbation of Rome—put him among the doctors of the church in the *Disputa*. Dante did not scruple to cast Popes in hell itself. He misunderstood Celestine, and had his reasons for disliking Nicholas, and down they went. And yet I wish from my heart I were half as good a Catholic as that same Dante Alighieri. So much for the infallibility of the Pope in political matters!

"Thus," writes Cardinal Newman, in his answer to Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on the Vatican Council, "if the Pope told the English Bishops to order their priests to stir themselves energetically in favor of teetotalism, and a particular priest was fully persuaded that abstinence from wine, etc., was practically a Gnostic error, and therefore felt that he could not so exert himself without sin; or suppose there was a Papal order to hold lotteries in each mission for some religious object, and a priest could say in God's sight that he believed lotteries to be morally wrong, that priest in either of these cases would commit a sin *hic et nunc* if he obeyed the Pope, whether he was right or wrong in his opinion, and if wrong although he had not taken proper pains to get at the truth of the matter."

In spite of this, Bishop Doane declares that the "pronounced principles of the Roman Church give the Church a right to control the political action of its members," implying that the conscience of the Pope when he considers secular conditions must override the consciences of all Catholics. This is a monstrous doctrine, and it seems impossible that Bishop Doane should seriously assert it, in the face of history and in the faces of his American Catholic fellow-citizens. The condition of Europe

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has changed since Henry went to Canossa; the Pope is no longer the chosen arbiter of all Christendom; and he does not claim temporal rights which were his by the consent of the nations. Spain is the most Catholic nation of Europe,—yet suppose the Pope should declare against the present *régime* and in favor of Don Carlos, would the most pious of Catholics take his utterance as infallible? Would the American Catholics rush to the assistance of the Spanish Pretender for fear of an "interdict" or excommunication?

There is no more loyal Catholic in Europe than Count de Mun. If he had declined to follow the Holy Father in approving of a republic in France there would have been no excommunication, nor would his Catholicism be suspected. It would take too much space to show how limited are the opportunities for the exercise of that "infallibility" of which the Bishop of Albany so often speaks. The Encyclical *Pastor Æternus* explains these. He must interpret the "deposit of faith" left by the Apostles; he has not the "inspiration" of the Apostles; he can add nothing to the Moral Law. "If he enjoins," says Cardinal Newman, "upon the Hierarchy of Ireland to withstand mixed education, this is no exercise of his infallibility."

All of which ought to show that there are other points of view which would enable the gentlemen whom Bishop Doane represents to see things more clearly, if they would not put the blind eye against the telescope. There is no reason why Rome should love the public-school system; no reason why she should concern herself about it; but every reason why she should be anxious that her children should learn the truths of Christianity and the rules of Christian morality. Without these, "universal education" must be a failure from the point of view of thoughtful Christians. As a body, Catholics are not in opposition to the public-school system. Rome has not asked them to interfere with the rights of their neighbors; and when Rome does, it will be time enough to raise a "war-cry." If Catholics were in the majority in this country, they would probably use their share of the school taxes to support their own schools, if they could. It would be a question of the ballot, as it is a question of the ballot now. After all, this school question is a local political question. If the plan of having Sisters teach in public schools has worked well in Poughkeepsie, why should it not work well in other places if the voters want it? It certainly has not destroyed the public-school system there. As the school system depends on votes, the patriotic enthusiasts on universal suffrage show a strange doubt of their God by not trusting it to the voters. If the Sisters turn out bad citizens, it is easy enough to turn them out of Poughkeepsie and everywhere else. Bishop Doane lacks confidence in American ideas, which, perhaps, are not as well understood as they might be in the old Dutch town of Albany. After what Bishop Doane has said—nearly all of which shows a singular neglect to put his keen eye to the telescope—we Catholics must feel that his desire to be kind and charitable exceeds his convictions. The Catholic Church "wields," he said ("because it is a compact body"), "a power which cannot be but infinitely valuable, in its legitimate sphere of religious and moral control over its own people; and infinitely dangerous when it is exercised in matters that lie beyond its sphere."

This is politeness and charity to a degree. He has told us that the claim of the Pope to dominate political affairs will not change. As good Roman Catholics, we are therefore, under the control of a foreign despot: how then can "Abraham and Lot live together"?—for, according to the Bishop

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of Albany, we must either give up the Pope or go to the Devil. As we refuse to cease to consider the Holy Father as the Vicar of Christ and the preserver and *ex-cathedra* interpreter of the Scripures and the Traditions of the Church, our friend might as well study our religious position,—or take our word that we are neither blind bigots nor malignant conspirators of the Catiline kind. As some of us have given hostages to society, it would be perhaps easier and kinder to take our word.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

THE PROBLEM OF THE RACING YACHT.

SINCE the beginning of the "Puritan era," in 1885, there has never been such inactivity in the building of racing yachts as there is this year. Hardly a racing keel of any size has been laid in the whole United States. For this, of course, the hard times are largely to blame. Yachts, and especially racing yachts, are essentially luxuries. It is natural that, after such hard times as we have had for the past year, when even the richest have felt the need of economizing, one of the first methods of reducing expenses would be the giving up of a projected racing craft.

But there are other things that have militated strongly against the building of new pleasure craft. The drift of the times has been recognized by the best judges, and many of these feel that there would be little more building than there is, even if the times were better.

Up to the time of the building of the "Puritan," American yacht building, while often very praiseworthy, had been spasmodic and irregular. With the defeat of the "Genesta" in 1885 our yacht designing became more uniformly scientific, and a definite "school" of American designing began to take shape. Not but that there were scientific American craft before the "Puritan," and some of them perhaps as clever for their day as she was for hers, but on the culmination of the sloop-cutter controversy in the new type, the building began to run all in one channel. The "rule-of thumb" boats gradually disappeared, and Mr. Burgess, the designer of the successful "Puritan," naturally had a large share in the shaping of the new order of things.

Mr. Burgess was by taste and temperament essentially a cruising man. He liked the staunch little craft that could take his friends and himself snugly on a little cruise, or that could go out in the bay in a rough nor'easter, and bring her crew back without the starting of a scarple joint, or the parting of a halliard. This quality was strikingly evident in all his earlier productions, and for years his new yachts were noticeable for their ability to stand hard weather, and their freedom from accidents.

With no spur except the necessity of beating himself, Mr. Burgess could continue for several years to turn out racing yachts, the fleet of one year only a trifle more extreme than the output of the preceding season, and all calculated for the double purpose of racing and cruising combined. To this day the racing boats of 1885 to 1890 are among the best cruisers of the fleet. But with the advent of competition all this was changed. Minerva shook things up a bit, and in various localities other designers began to pick up races. The necessity of making a substantial advance in speed from year to year set to work a hundred different devices, all of which tended to diminish the value of the ex-racers as cruising craft.

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The materials for planking and frames were lightened; decks were lightened; cabin fittings became scantier, and all of those cruising comforts were rigidly barred. Spars, rigging, and iron-work were lightened—all in accordance with the unimpeachable principle that weight low down on the keel in lead would serve to carry more sail, and hence produce more speed, than weight distributed in every other part of the ship. More lead on the keel, deepening the draught of the yacht, and bigger sail-plans came into vogue, as these things all tended to improve the speed.

With all these "improvements" our yachts began to develop symptoms of leaking, top and bottom, under stress of weather, and breakdowns became much more common. The owners realized that it wa much more comfortable to eat and sleep aboard a friend's comfortable steam yacht than in the bare cabins of their provisionless racers. The next step was the evolution of the "tender," viz., a steam yacht owned by the owner of the racer, which followed the latter about—took off her crew, both amateur and professional, at the conclusion of each race, and gave them food and lodging till the morning of the next race.

Of late years the tendency to divorce the racer and cruiser qualities has been even more strongly marked. Burgess was not a bold experimenter. He professed to work along fairly well-marked lines, departing as little as possible from his successful boats of the past. This is illustrated in the "Puritan," "Mayflower," and "Volunteer," yachts that differed from each other only in very slight degrees, *i. e.*, slight as compared with the rapid changes of the past few years. The development of the fin and kindred types has decreased the accommodation of the yachts, while the full lines and long overhangs have made a model which is as yet untried in very heavy weather, and which has yet to rid itself of the suspicion that it will be most uncomfortable if not dangerous in a gale.

All these things have tended to divide the racer sharply from the cruiser. An owner recognizes that he must build one thing or the other, and he is apt to build neither. When a yacht can be built one year as a racer, as was the case with the old forties, and sold the next year as a cruiser for nearly her cost, it was not so expensive a matter to build. But an owner now feels that he must build a racing toy and sell her for little or nothing at the end of a single season.

Probably this separation of the cruisers and racers has had more to do with the decrease in building than any other cause. So many racing yachts were built and turned into cruisers in the years up to 1890 that the cruising market is still well filled, and building for distinctly cruising purposes may be expected to grow greatly in the next few years.

The more costly work and materials that are being put in our modern racers is another bar to building. Tobin bronze at twenty cents a pound against steel at two cents is one illustration of the rapid strides in the cost of materials, while simple skin planking and steel frames are only indications of a more expensive form of workmanship which has extended to every detail of hull and rig.

The public, and even the racing man, as yet look on the new order of craft as "not yachts, but machines." While there was great interest in the trial and cup races last year, it was an interest that appealed more to the student of naval architecture, who was interested in the mechanical problems involved, than to the general public, and was nothing like the patriotic enthusiasm that backed the "Puritan," "Mayflower," and "Volunteer,"

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which were looked upon as fine vessels, able to take their chances at sea in any weather.

For this state of things the designers cannot be blamed. They owe it to their clients and to themselves to produce the fastest racing yachts they can under the rules. It must be from the clubs themselves, in amending the rules, that any improvement can come. It is within the province of the clubs to make any rules they deem expedient for the improvement in preservation of the type. Just as catamarans and shifting ballast have been barred, it is proper and advisable for the clubs to restrict extremes in light building, costly materials or unseaworthy or undesirable types.

Heretofore the clubs have kept their hands off, partly because the problem was a difficult one to grapple with, and partly from a mistaken fear of restricting the "liberty" of design. If it were universally believed that the lack of restrictions was the cause of the stagnation in building, the designers' cry would be "Save us from ourselves." The interests of the designers and the clubs are identical in this matter, as both want to see as much building as possible, as without building there can be no sport. The English designers were practically unanimous in recommending a number of restrictions in the present type to the committee of the Council of the Y. R. A., which considered this matter a year ago last fall, but their recommendations were disregarded.

Absolutely limiting the draught, barring bulb keels, barring metal fins, putting a tax on midship sections of less than a given area, classifying by corrected length so as to curtail sail-plans,—these and other plans have been suggested to remedy the present evils. It does not seem impracticable to have a competent and disinterested board of experts, to whom designers would have to submit their plans of construction, so that the scantling should not be lightened to a dangerous extent.

It is not my purpose to suggest what the restrictions should be. I wish now only to call attention to the situation, and to maintain the principle that the clubs should take some action. It is a difficult problem, and unquestionably some mistakes will be made in the rules that are adopted. As in all changes, the best method is to go slow, prescribing for the most serious ills first, until a code shall be built up that can stand the test of experience.

It is a sign of the times that the only racing class in sight for this year, the twenty-one-foot class of the Larchmont Yacht Club, is based upon a number of restrictions. Probably no two yachtsmen would now agree that this or any other particular code of rules was the best for the purpose, but the movement is certainly in the right direction, and the experiment will be watched with interest.

GEORGE A. STEWART.

CONTINENTAL FINANCES.

THE financial condition of the Continent of Europe at present offers motive for anxiety, the rapid increase of public debt causing a proportionate increase of taxation, while a succession of deficits in recent years in most countries would seem to indicate that all prudence in these matters has been abandoned. We have only to compare the condition of Europe at the close of 1893 with what it was in 1885 to understand a good deal of the growing

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spirit of uneasiness observable on all sides, which is a prominent feature in the final decade of the nineteenth century.

There has been since 1885 an increase of 21 per cent. in taxation and 17 per cent. in public debt, and if things go on in this manner we shall probably see some nations bankrupt before long. Not only has taxation reached its limit, but the taxes that press in many countries most heavily on the working classes are out of proportion with the other public burthens. No clearer proof could be adduced of the reckless method of finances in the past nine years than the subjoined table of average annual income and expenditure; and the correctness of the figures is borne out by a statement of the increase of debt in the several countries, according to official returns.

	Annual average, millions, stg.		Debt increase, millions stg.
	Revenue.	Expenditure.	
France	128	138	89
Germany	145	165	183
Russia	90	105	132
Austria	80	88	73
Italy	60	63	30
Spain	32	34	17
Portugal	9	11	20
Other states	52	56	36
Total	596	660	580

About 60 per cent. of this increase of debt (or surplus expenditure) is accounted for by reproductive works, the outlay having been approximately as follows:

	Millions sterling.
State railways	336
Telegraphs, etc	16
Armaments	228
Total	580

Since 1885 the Continental governments have built or purchased more than 16,000 miles of railway, the mileage and capital cost of state railways showing as follows:

Year.	Miles.	Millions stg.
1885	37,560	755
1893	53,830	1,091
Increase	16,270	336

It is undeniable that the construction of these railways has eminently served to develop the resources and industries of the countries in question, but the net earnings of such lines (except in Germany) have rarely exceeded 2¼ per cent., and thus have fallen very short of the interest on the money borrowed to make them. Hence a constant disturbance in the finances.

Military outlay has been another cause of continuous deficits, and it would be impossible without entering into the field of politics to discuss how far one or another nation has been guilty of extravagance under this head. We have, however, no difficulty in ascertaining the cost. According to the budgets of the 16 Continental states the annual expenditure for armies and navies rose from £128,000,000 in 1884 to £146,000,000 in 1895, the average for the intermediate nine years having been £140,000,000, that is £12,000,000 more than in 1884. In order to meet this increase of expenditure

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taxes have been augmented on all sides, the aggregate revenues of the said sixteen states showing as follows:

	1885. Millions stg.	1893. Millions stg.
Customs	73	87
Excise	125	151
Sundries	339	411
Total	537	649

Customs and excise fall heaviest on the working classes, because they are the least able to support taxation, and in many states of the Continent excise comes in a most objectionable form. Suffice it to mention the sugar tax in France, which amounts to five francs per inhabitant; the salt tax in Italy, which averages two francs per head; and the sugar tax in Germany, of nearly two marks per head. It is now so long since the salt and sugar duties were abolished in Great Britain that the ordinary Englishman of to-day cannot form an accurate idea of their incidence on the bulk of the people,—that is on the humbler classes. Any one, however, who travels and mixes much with the people (not in large towns, but in the highways and byways) in France, Italy, or Germany soon comes to understand public feeling on this point.

The sum of customs and excise collectively in various countries has increased very remarkably since 1885, viz.:

	Millions stg.		
	1885.	1893.	Increase.
France	59	68	15 p. c.
Germany	18	30	67 "
Russia	37	48	30 "
Austria	29	35	21 "
Italy	22	24	9 "

The above figures force us to conclude that the extra burthens caused by the enormous military expenditure of late years fall in a great measure on the working classes of the Continent, and that any further increase of customs or excise might produce, not merely discontent, but revolution.

As regards the amount of public debt it is well to note that in some countries there is a large set-off in the form of State railways. The following table shows first the gross debt, and secondly the amount after deducting the value of state railways.

	Millions stg.		
	Gross debt.	State R. R.	Net debt.
France	1,219	42	1,177
Germany	568	487	81
Russia	561	161	400
Austria	543	127	416
Italy	485	127	358
Spain	239	....	239
Portugal	129	14	115
Sweden	22	22	....
Holland	88	17	71
Belgium	86	52	34
Roumania	41	32	9
Various	69	10	59
Continent	4,050	1,091	2,959

Thus we find that one-fourth of the public debt of Continental Europe is represented by state railways, and there is very little to show for the remainder—say 3,000 millions sterling—expended mostly in wars or armaments. This latter kind of expenditure may be termed unproductive, and

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the amount of money lost or wasted in this manner since 1885 has averaged 25 millions sterling per annum. How long is this to go on before bankruptcy overtakes one or other of the European nations? What effect must such a crisis have on the trade of the world? Is it possible, in the present political state of Europe, to devise any means for averting a general cataclysm? These are questions of far higher importance to 300 millions of the human race than the observation of the transit of Venus or the discovery of the North Pole. Nevertheless, there are unfortunately few thinking men in Europe who give themselves any concern with respect to a state of things more pregnant with widespread danger and confusion than any that has existed for a century.

M. G. MULHALL.

HOW TO RELIEVE CONGRESS.

WRITERS innumerable have told, some seriously, some humorously, of the difficulties encountered by private persons in getting relief bills passed by Congress, and of the waste of time by Congressmen in attending to this part of their duty. It is not my intention to go over that well-trodden ground, nor to present any fresh statistics. A statement of the case in such form as to bring into prominence the evils of the situation will be sufficient for present purposes.

First: The general laws which provide for the satisfaction of claims against the government were drawn and enacted in language so clumsy or obscure that many just claims are excluded from consideration, or are rejected properly as not admissible under the statute. Second: The only remedy of the injustice chargeable to the general laws is a special act of Congress; and the possible rate of considering cases of alleged injustice, by Congress, being less than the rate of the accumulation of claims, there is a constant increase of arrears. Third: The selection of claims for consideration and final action is not determined by the order of their presentation in Congress, nor yet by the length of time since they were first presented, years ago, nor again by their merit, nor by their urgency. The energy or the popularity of the member who has undertaken to get a relief bill passed, or some one of a variety of accidents, gives the preference which satisfies the claim of one person and passes over that of another person quite as meritorious. Fourth: That part of the work which is accomplished is not always well done. The method of constituting committees does not insure correct judgment on the part of those who are designated to investigate claims; the sessions at which business of this class is transacted are attended thinly, and chiefly by those who are interested for some constituent in the allowance of his claim; and anything like a real sifting of evidence for the equitable decision of the question as to the validity of a claim is simply impossible. A favorable report is usually conclusive if the bill in regard to which it has been made is reached on the calendar. One case on which I stumbled in a random study of this subject will illustrate how uncertain are the ways of Congress. A bill, for the relief of, we will say, James R. Hartington, was introduced in the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress, in February, 1882. It was reported favorably by the committee to which it was referred, but did not come to a vote. It was reintroduced in each of the four following Congresses, usually in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and had a favorable report by a committee of the

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Forty-eighth and Fiftieth, but was not reported at all in the Forty-ninth. The committee of the Fifty-first Congress reported unfavorably in 1890, and the claim has, I believe, not reappeared since that time. An adverse report is usually fatal to a claim. And yet, without any knowledge of the case, it seems fair to suppose that the three reports in its favor should count for as much as the one against it. If the case had been lucky enough to be reached on the calendar in either one of three Congresses, it would have been allowed, probably; and in that event, supposing the last fatal report to have been right, an unjust claim would have been allowed. On the other hand, if the last report was unjust, a man who is entitled to relief from the government has no further chance of obtaining it; yet the final decision against him may have been in reality but the decision of one man, and he the least competent to decide of all those who have investigated it.

To recapitulate: the very existence of these thousands of claims is the severest of criticisms upon the incompetency of those who draft our general laws. Congress is quite unable to keep pace with the accumulation of new claims, much less to clear off the arrears; the selection of claims for adjudication is made upon no system at all; and when the decision upon a claim is reached it may be right or wrong, and is perhaps not twice as likely to be right as to be wrong. Nothing has been said—it is not necessary, for the very statement of the matter brings out the evil—upon the impropriety of employing the time of the legislators for the nation in the examination of insignificant claims.

All these things have been said in great detail many and many a time, but those who have said them content themselves with a statement of the evils, or at most they add a sneer at other people—members of Congress chiefly—for not finding a remedy. Yet it requires no genius to devise measures which would correct every evil now existing and prevent a recurrence of it. The prime requisite is to adopt the principle that Congress, even if it has no higher duties to perform, is an unfit body to investigate and pass upon private claims. All demands against the government which are valid under the law may be heard and adjusted by the executive department or by the Court of Claims. Those which are brought individually before Congress are so brought because they are not valid under the law. We have here the old distinction, now abolished in the courts, between law and equity. But it would be highly improper to confer upon any executive department the right to allow claims, however just inherently, which are not admissible under the express terms of the statute. Consequently some new tribunal must be created to inquire into the substantial justice of such claims. The unfitness of Congress arises from the fact that this inquiry not only is strictly of a judicial character, but requires keener insight, better judgment, and a more impartial frame of mind than it does to determine whether or not the circumstances of any given case make it fall within the scope of a law that has been interpreted by the courts. How unjudicial a judge Congress is has been shown by a long series of partisan decisions upon contested election cases.

The obvious thing to do, then, is to establish a permanent Private Claims Commission. It should be a body of not less than fifteen members at the outset, and might well consist of as many as twenty-five. In time, as the number of unadjudicated claims diminished the membership might be reduced, until five, seven or nine commissioners would be enough to do the

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work. It should be composed of upright, intelligent men, of good judicial capacity and of industry, in middle life; for if the Commission were made a retiring place for stranded members of Congress and other superannuated or broken-down politicians, the whole object would be defeated. Section 1,060 of the Revised Statutes of the United States provides that all petitions and bills for private claims founded upon law, or upon a regulation of an executive department, or upon a contract, express or implied, shall, when presented in Congress, be referred by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives to the Court of Claims. The exact language of the section, save only the insertion of the word *not* before the word "founded," and the substitution of *the Private Claims Commission* for "the Court of Claims," would relieve Congress absolutely of the duty of making the preliminary investigation of all such cases. Such a commission would divide itself into sections, each for the consideration of a special class of claims. There might be three or four sections of three members each to consider pension claims, one for land claims, one for patents, and so on. Doubtful cases would be reserved for the whole commission if the section should be unable to make a unanimous report. And in any event the commission would hold general meetings at stated intervals; and all judgments would be taken as judgments of the whole body.

It would not be proper—probably it might not be constitutional—to permit the conclusions of such a tribunal, dealing in all cases with matters outside the law, to become effective without definite action by Congress thereupon. But detailed reports of its findings, made to Congress, would be the basis of an appropriation bill covering all the claims adjudged to be equitable. As for those upon which an adverse report was made, they might still be brought forward as amendments to the bill, when considered in committee of the whole; and it is easy to see that under such a system few baseless claims would be allowed or just ones denied. Certainly every person who believes that his petition for relief is based in equity should rejoice at the establishment of a tribunal to which he might appeal, with a hope that his case would be heard fairly and promptly. Of course those who had little confidence in their own claim would wish for the continuance of a system in which favor and influence count for almost as much as a just cause. But under the law proposed all applications based upon legal or contract claims would go, as a matter of routine, to the Court of Claims, and all not so based would go to the Claims Commission. Although, by resolution, a case of either class might be withheld from the Commission, and sent to a Congressional committee, it is well known that an attempt to evade a competent regular tribunal excites suspicion.

The great benefits of the measure proposed are the prompt hearing of a great mass of accumulated private claims, the hearing of them on their merits, and the relief of Congress. But, incidentally, the commission might formulate amendments to existing law, so that a great many equitable claims now unprovided for should be brought within the classes ordinarily heard and decided in the departments. In any event, so much time would be gained to Congress by having no longer to pass upon these little private matters—some more time might be saved by the abandonment of the silly customs observed after the death of a member—that we might really hope that important public matters would have better attention than they now have.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

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THE CRY OF THE WOMEN.

In the name of common-sense—demands the bewildered reader of the flood of recent books written by the gentler sex—what is the matter with the women? Their voices are all bitter with unsatisfied longing, yet one can distinguish no definite demand. What do they seek? What provokes such outcries as *The Heavenly Twins*, *Keynotes*, *A Superfluous Woman*, *A Yellow Aster*, *The Woman Who Dares*, and their like? They are all stormy with revolt against—*what*? Why can they not say plainly what it is that troubles them and what it is they wish?

A literature has its birth in the current needs and thoughts of a people, and that this recent outpouring of feminine hearts, and these confused voices of discontent, express the mental condition of the woman of to-day, is proved by the greediness with which edition after edition of such books is seized upon by the feminine reading public, and the echoes they awake in the talk of the drawing-room and boudoir.

Yet the sum of all these volumes is like the cry of an infant, intimating a pain without explaining the cause.

Free speech and free thought are new to woman. Her mind, long cramped in the swaddling-bands of repression and convention, moves with staggering uncertainty towards its aim, and she cannot define, even to herself, much less state clearly to the world, the true meaning of the pain she feels. She only knows that she is in revolt against what has been; she cannot yet say what is to replace it. Some cry out for political rights, others are convinced that the abolition of stays and introduction of trousers are all that is needed to bring down a female millennium upon our heads.

"Latch keys!" cry the brow-beaten English young persons, "and freedom to be out after dark like our brothers. Look at them; they are quite happy; it is the possession of latch-key freedom makes them so. Give it also to us!" "No," roundly declares Mona Caird; "what we need is a latch key to let us out of the life-long bond of marriage. It weighs so heavily upon us. Let us go free."

"Nonsense!" contradicts Sarah Grand. "Marriage is all right. What is wrong is man. He comes to marriage with stained, empty hands, while he demands that ours be spotless and heaped with health, innocence, and faith. He swindles us. Reform man if you would make us happy."

"Higher education!" "Equal wages!" "Physical development!" "Expansion of the Ego!" cry the conflicting voices, all missing the true meaning of the trouble and the true remedy.

Morgan, in his "Ancient Society," dealing with the question of Mutter-Recht (mother-right), declares that throughout the earliest period of human existence of which any knowledge is obtainable, de cent and all rights of succession were traced through the women of the *gens*, into which primitive man was organized. Women, as being the bearers and protectors of the young, were regarded as the natural landowners, and therefore did not follow the fathers of their children lest they should lose their possessions and rights of inheritance. The men instead married into the sept of their wives. The power and independence of women were lost through the practice of making female captives in war. These had no land, and were the property of and dependent upon the will of their male captor. The men naturally grew to prefer these subject wives. The Arab advised his son, "It is better to have a wife with no claims of kin, and no brethren near to

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take her part." Women therefore began to dread capture as the worst of evils. When at last the vast hordes began to move in the racial migrations, with their wars of spoliation and conquest, there was no security save in strength, and the females yielded all power and possessions to the men in return for protection.

Man, thus invested with political superiority, claimed no moral lordship over his mate. Under the pagan rule Roman jurisconsults by their theory of "Natural Law" evidently assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle of equity. Sir Henry Sumner Maine says there came a time "when the situation of the female was one of great personal and proprietary independence; for the tendency of the law was to reduce the power of the guardian to a nullity, while the form of marriage conferred on the husband no compensating superiority." Among the Northern tribes also the woman was held in all moral aspects the equal of man. Alike the blue-eyed wife of the Barbarian and the proud Roman matron were, as the bearers and breeders of the race, the equals of the fighters and rulers of the race. The importance of their functions was fully recognized and respected, and the priestess at the sylvan altar, the vestals serving the fires and the temples at Rome were held worthy to speak face to face with the gods and convey their blessings to man.

It was the humble religion of Judæa, embraced with ardor by willing women martyrs, which robbed them of their last remnant of equality and cursed them with a bitter curse. The very fountain and purpose of woman's being fell under the ban. Her presence in holy places became a desecration, and for the first time her feminine functions were regarded as a shame rather than a glory.

The founder of the faith—superior to all limitations of time or race—had set an example in his own life of reverence and tenderness for the sex, and gave no warrant by word or deed for the insult offered to women by his church, but the Asian, Paul, before that church was organized, was dictating silence to women, covered heads, and submission, and declaring against marriage as a weakness. If a man must marry because of his weakness, why, let him; but not to marry was better. The church accepted his views.

Lecky, comparing the Roman jurisprudence with the Canon law, remarks that "the Pagan laws were constantly repealing the disabilities of women, whereas it was the aim of the Canon law to substitute enactments imposing upon the female the most offensive personal restrictions and stringent subordination."

Marriage, the very meaning and purpose of woman's existence, was degraded. No priest of God might approach a woman. Her very touch was an indelible stain and abomination to the church's chosen, and she herself was encouraged to deny all her wholesome impulses, and endeavor to stifle her natural instincts with the spiritual ecstacies of morbid meditation. Woman, at last, was poor indeed! The Oriental ideal, with its fierce sexual egoism, had triumphed over the ideal of the Occident, and so deeply did the Asian thought stamp itself upon the Western mind that historians do not hesitate to attribute to this scorn of woman and her high mission of childbearing, a long delay in the development of European civilization. The higher, more spiritual natures, being more under the influence of the church, bowed to its suggestions of asceticism and left the baser sort to perpetuate the race, and thus dekayed the processes of evolution.

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The reformation, the first uprising of the Western mind against Asian domination, threw off the yoke of celibacy, but the ingrained contempt of woman was not so easily eradicated. Honor in man became integrity, *wholeness*; but for her it still signified only chastity, and her real work in life was not restored to its ancient dignity and importance. Centuries of such teaching have wrought their wretched work, despite the mighty forces of nature. Virginity instead of purity has become the ideal of the highest type of woman, who shrinks from the fulfillment of her functions as a stepping down, instead of glorying in it as the achievement of her sacred purpose; child-bearing is accepted more as a dull necessity and duty that as the great work of a life, for which all youth should be a time of training and preparation, as man is prepared for his duties—different, but no more important.

Since the beginning of the Christian era woman has learned to accept man and his mental and physical achievements as the standard of excellence, and to humbly admit that she permanently failed of this standard; but with the universality of the democratic idea she has grown restless under a sense of inferiority in value and dignity in the general scheme of things; wherefore this desperate search for some fountain of Salmacis which shall transmute her to the exact likeness of her long time lord and superior.

Let this two thousand-year-old wrong be undone. Let women run the race, paint, write, teach, speak, as her talents dictate, but let her use these things as being only the pastimes, not the work, of her life. Let the young girl learn the tremendous meaning and sacredness of her functions and their exercise, and make her understand once for all that her real work lies in carrying the torch of life from generation to generation; that she is the high priestess of life, and her body its holy temple; that the noblest possibilities of the race and its upward growth lie in her hands, dependent upon her wholesome vigor and purity, and her wise choice of a mate. Let married love and motherhood be made noble and important in her—the one thing to be done supremely well.

For heaven's sake let the woman cease to set the mental and material achievements of man before her as the standard to which she must perforce raise herself at the sacrifice of her own great talent. Let her get it clearly into her head that equality does not necessarily imply similarity. Let her say with due pride in her work when she contemplates the miracles wrought by the hands of her sons:

"Did man make this? Well, I made those who made this!"

This hoary wrong and error being abolished, and women once more aware of the beauty and importance of their work, such outbursts of restless passion and discontent as have of late defaced their writings will be changed from a cry into a song.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

A TALE OF TWO CAPITALS.

A FRIEND of mine, recently deceased, told me, if my memory serves me correctly, that he had the following facts from Baron Haussmann himself:

Ordered by Napoleon III. to submit plans for the renovation of Paris, the Baron was for some time at a loss how to meet the twofold requirements of the contemplated improvements, for the new streets had to be at once beautiful and so laid out as to be readily commanded by artillery.

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Suddenly he bethought him of modern Washington. He secured a plan of that city, and this seemed on examination so exactly to meet the necessities of the case that he finally submitted it to the Emperor. The result was that the plan in the main was accepted, and modern Paris was built upon the lines of modern Washington. Thus is explained a certain similarity which strikes every one who is familiar with the two capitals, although one might naturally suppose the American city, being the younger, to be the daughter, instead of the mother. But General Washington more than half a century earlier had ordered L'Enfant to design him a plan for his seat of government in much the same manner as Napoleon III. had commanded Baron Haussmann.

Now, L'Enfant was not only a Frenchman, but a resident of Versailles, and he undoubtedly derived his inspiration from his earlier surroundings; consequently Washington was an enlargement of the Royal Park, with its alleys extended into avenues and its numerous flower-beds and parterres enlarged into circles and quadrants.

Thus by a trans-oceanic leap Baron Haussmann took from the New World what he could have secured at his own gate. So much for a merely curious artistic coincidence. But in light of recent events in our capital, a singular inquiry suggests itself—namely, whether General Washington, in laying out the city, did not have in mind the same twofold object that Napoleon the Third had when laying out Paris. To be sure, the present industrial army movement now bids fair to end in ridicule. But at some later date a more desperate one may require to be controlled by artillery, and then the broad avenues and straight streets of the Capital may be appreciated for other than mere æsthetic considerations, and, on the contrary, serve as an additional proof of far-sightedness on the part of the Father of his Country.

To see that fear of the mob was a considerable factor in the early development of our country we have only to look at the locations of our State capitals. Scarcely one of these is the great commercial centre of its State.

Albany, not New York, is the capital of New York.
Annapolis, not Baltimore, is the capital of Maryland.
Harrisburg, not Philadelphia, is the capital of Pennsylvania.
Springfield, not Chicago, is the capital of Illinois.
Baton Rouge, not New Orleans, is the capital of Louisiana.
Sacramento, not San Francisco, is the capital of California.
Columbia, not Charleston, is the capital of South Carolina.
Jefferson City, not St. Louis, is the capital of Missouri.
Salem, not Portland, is the capital of Oregon.
Lansing, not Detroit, is the capital of Michigan.

It were a pity that the too evident motive in the selection of these State capitals should have been displayed merely in their sites and that they should not be marked, like the national capital, by a special beauty of plan, with however sanguinary a purpose this beauty went hand in hand.

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